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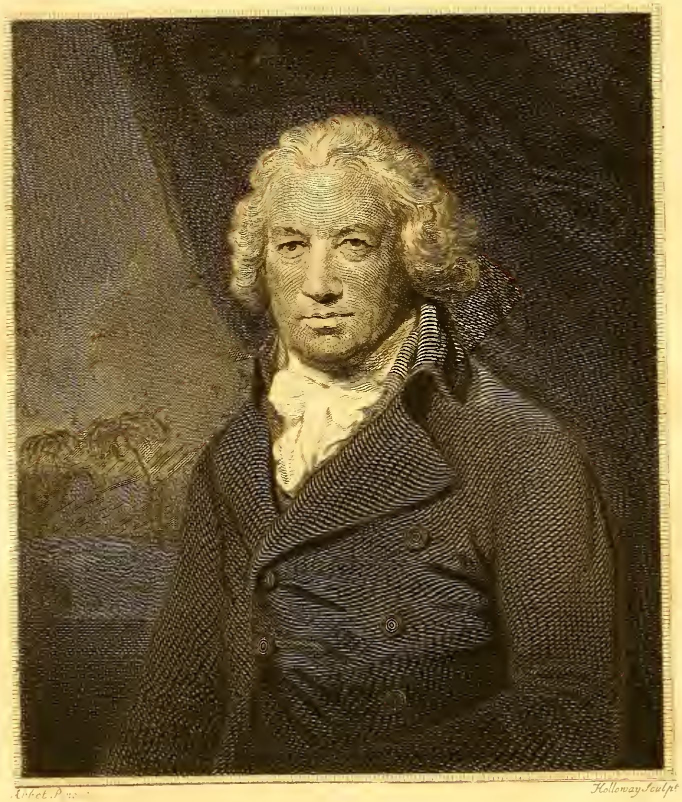
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BRYAN EDWARDS ESQ.^{R}

Publiſh'd Sept. 25, 1800 by John Stockdale, Piccadilly.

AN

HISTORICAL SURVEY

OF THE

ISLAND OF SAINT DOMINGO,

TOGETHER WITH

AN ACCOUNT OF THE MAROON NEGROES

IN THE

Island of Jamaica;

AND A HISTORY OF THE WAR IN THE WEST INDIES,

In 1793, and 1794;

BY BRYAN EDWARDS, ESQ.

ALSO,

A TOUR

THROUGH THE SEVERAL ISLANDS OF

BARBADOES, St. VINCENT, ANTIGUA, TOBAGO, AND GRENADA,

In the Years 1791 and 1792.

BY SIR WILLIAM YOUNG, BART.

Illustrated with Copper Plates.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR JOHN STOCKDALE, PICCADILLY.

1801.

PREFATORY ADVERTISEMENT*.

TO this new and additional Volume of the Hiſtory of the Weſt Indies, it was the intention of the Author to prefix a Preface, touching every ſource of additional intelligence, every rectification of error, and the general completion of his views, in furniſhing every document of commerce, of policy, and of natural hiſtory, as connected with the countries and the people he deſcribes. He had carefully reviſed and corrected the text of his Book, preparatory to ſuch eſſay, developing the ſcheme of its conſtruction, and the philoſophy of its contents. But death interrupted the deſign;—and ere the laſt ſheet was reviſed from the preſs, —BRYAN EDWARDS was no more! He had long ſuffered from the diſorder which brought him to the grave, and ſeemed to foreſee the hour of diſſolution haſtening on; as the Sketch of his Life, written by himſelf, clearly denotes. Rendered incapable by weakneſs and diſeaſe, of completing his greater deſign of a Prefatory Diſcourſe, yet, with a fond anxiety for honeſt fame, he rouſed the embers of his genius,—to claim a fair reputation with poſterity for induſtry, integrity, and candid expoſition of the talents and acquirements which introduced him to publick notice. The firmneſs of his mind, and the cheerfulneſs of his temper, which throughout a long and checquered life, gave confidence to his friendſhips, and delight in his ſociety, forſook him not, as he apprehended its laſt ſhort hour before him:—This he clearly ſhows, when turning from the awful conſideration of futurity, to look back on his paſt life, himſelf brings the retroſpect to our view; and deſcribes the ſcene in ſo pure and lively colours, with no gloom from diſcontent, and no ſhade from remorſe, that we readily infer the nature of the light which ſo beamed on this his laſt work, and to his laſt hour;—and pronounce its emanation to be from the pure conſcience of ‘a benevolent and upright man.’ Under ſuch impreſſion, the Editor has peculiar ſatisfaction in fulfilling the injunction of his departed friend, and prefixing to this Edition "THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR, WRITTEN BY HIMSELF."— The time at which it was compoſed, and the compoſition itſelf, impreſs the Editor with every feeling of dear regard and of duty; and, (as a part of that duty) with the propriety of ſubmitting ſome further remark on this laſt literary effort of his excellent Friend. Thoſe who knew and were intimate with Mr. BRYAN EDWARDS, will recognize, in this ſhort account of himſelf, the energy of mind, the induſtry, and the truth, which characterized his converſations and his life; but all muſt allow, and ſome muſt object, that much therein is omitted, which has uſual and proper place in biography, and which the Editor might be preſumed, or be called upon, to ſupply. Some account might be required, of his literary eſſays and legiſlative acts, ſo efficient in the cauſe of humanity towards the negroes, whilſt a member of the aſſembly in Jamaica:—Some account might be demanded, of this good and independent man, whilſt a member of the Britiſh parliament; and, eſpecially in the poſthumous life of a literary man, ſome accurate detail of his literary purſuits and writings might be expected;--Of BRYAN EDWARDS,—of his Correſpondence,—of his Eſſays, and of his conduct in the judicious compilation and elegant recital of the Travels of Mungoe Park, —and ſpecially, of the origin and progreſs of the great Work herewith ſubmitted to the Publick.— to theſe, and other points, the recollection of the reader is thus awakened. The Editor preſumes no further. He cannot venture to alter, or add to, the ſacred depoſit committed to his charge,—and now gives it to the Publick, as its Author left, and *willed* it, to be given.

---

* *By Sir William Young, Bart.*

SKETCH
OF THE
LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,
WRITTEN BY HIMSELF
A SHORT TIME BEFORE HIS DEATH.

I WAS born the 21ſt of May 1743, in the decayed town of Weſtbury, in the county of Wilts. My father inherited a ſmall paternal eſtate in the neighbourhood, of about £.100 per annum; which proving but a ſcanty maintenance for a large family, he undertook, without any knowledge of the buſineſs, as I have been informed, to deal in corn and malt, but with very little ſucceſs. He died in 1756, leaving my excellent mother, and ſix children, in diſtreſſed circumſtances.—Luckily for my mother, ſhe had two opulent brothers in the Weſt Indies, one of them a wiſe and worthy man, of a liberal mind, and princely fortune. This was Zackary Bayly, of the Iſland of Jamaica, who, on the death of my father, took my mother and her family under his protection, and as I was the eldeſt ſon, directed that I ſhould be well educated. I had been placed by my father at the ſchool of a diſſenting miniſter in Briſtol, whoſe name was William Foot, of whom I remember enough, to believe that he was both a learned and good man, but by a ſtrange abſurdity, he was forbidden to teach me Latin and Greek, and directed to confine my ſtudies to writing, arithmetick, and the Engliſh grammar. I ſhould therefore have had little to do, but that the ſchoolmaſter had an excellent method of making the boys write letters to him on different ſubjects, ſuch as, the beauty and dignity of truth, the obligation of a religious life, the benefits of good education, the miſchief of idleneſs, &c. &c. previouſly ſtating to them the chief arguments to be urged; and inſiſting on correctneſs in orthography and grammar. In this employment, I had ſometimes the good fortune to excel the other boys; and when this happened, my maſter never failed to praiſe me very liberally before them all; and he would frequently tranſmit my letters to my father and mother.—This excited in my mind a ſpirit of emulation, and, I believe,

gave

gave me the firſt taſte for correct and elegant compoſition. I acquired, however, all this time, but very little learning; and when my uncle (on my father's death) took me under his protection, his agent in Briſtol conſidered me as neglected by Mr. Foot, and immediately removed me to a French boarding ſchool in the ſame city, where I ſoon obtained the French language, and having acceſs to a circulating library, I acquired a paſſion for books, which has ſince become the ſolace of my life.

In 1759, a younger and the only brother of my great and good uncle, came to England, and ſettling in London, took me to reſide with him, in a high and elegant ſtyle of life. He was a repreſentative in Parliament for Abingdon, and afterwards for his native town.—Further, I cannot ſpeak of him ſo favourably as I could wiſh, for I remember that at the period I allude to, his conduct towards me was ſuch as not to inſpire me with much reſpect: he perceived it, and ſoon after, in the latter end of the ſame year ſent me to Jamaica.—This proved a happy and fortunate change in my life, for I found my eldeſt uncle the reverſe, in every poſſible circumſtance, of his brother. To the moſt enlarged and enlightened mind, he added the ſweeteſt temper, and the moſt generous diſpoſition. His tenderneſs towards me was exceſſive, and I regarded him with more than filial affection and veneration. Obſerving my paſſion for books, and thinking favourably of my capacity, he engaged a clergyman (my loved and ever to be lamented friend Iſaac Teale) to reſide in his family, chiefly to ſupply by his inſtructions my deficiency in the learned languages. Mr. Teale had been maſter of a free grammar ſchool, and beſides being a moſt accompliſhed ſcholar, poſſeſſed an exquiſite taſte for poetry, of which the reader will be convinced by referring to the Gentleman's Magazine, for Auguſt 1771, the beautiful copy of verſes, there firſt publiſhed, called "The Compliment of the Day," being of his compoſition.—I dare not ſay, however, that I made any great progreſs in the languages under his tuition; I acquired "*ſmall* "*Latin, and leſs Greek*;" even now, I find it difficult to read the Roman poets in their own language. The caſe was, that not having been grounded in the Latin grammar at an earlier period of life, I found the ſtudy of it inſupportably diſguſting, after that I had acquired a taſte for the beauties of fine writing.

Poetry was our chief amuſement; for my friend, as well as myſelf, preferred the charms of Dryden and Pope, to the dull drudgery of poring over ſyntax and proſody*. We preferred Belles Lettres.—We laughed away many a happy hour over the plays of Molière, and wrote verſes on local and temporary ſubjects, which we ſometimes publiſhed in the Colonial newſpapers. Yet the Latin claſſicks were not altogether neglected; my friend delighted to point out to me the beauties of Horace, and would frequently impoſe on me the taſk of tranſlating an ode into Engliſh verſe, which, with his aſſiſtance in conſtruing the words, I ſometimes accompliſhed.

Having made myſelf known to the publick by my writings, it is probable that after I am in the grave, that ſome collector of anecdotes, or biographical compiler, may pretend to furniſh ſome particulars concerning my life and manners. It is not pleaſant to think that miſrepreſentation or malice may faſten on my memory; and I have therefore made it the amuſement of an idle hour, to compile a ſhort account of myſelf. My perſonal hiſtory, however, is of little importance to the world. It will furniſh no diverſified ſcenes of fortune, nor relate many circumſtances of myſelf, worth remembering. Yet I feel the fond ambition of an Author, and am willing to hope, that thoſe who have read my Book with approbation, will be glad to know ſomething further concerning me:

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* Vide Armſtrong.

> For who, to dumb forgetfulneſs a prey, &c.

For the ſatisfaction then of ſuch kind readers (if ſuch there are) and the information of my poſterity, I have drawn up this paper, which I deſire my Bookſeller to prefix to the next Edition of my Hiſtory of the Weſt Indies.

B. E.

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AN

HISTORICAL SURVEY

OF THE

FRENCH COLONY

IN THE

ISLAND OF ST. DOMINGO:

COMPREHENDING

AN ACCOUNT OF THE REVOLT OF THE NEGROES
IN THE YEAR 1791,

AND

A DETAIL OF THE MILITARY TRANSACTIONS OF THE BRITISH ARMY IN THAT
ISLAND, IN THE YEARS 1793 & 1794.

PREFACE

TO THE

FIRST EDITION

OF THE

HISTORICAL SURVEY OF ST. DOMINGO.

(1796.)

PREFACE to the Firſt Edition.

SOON after I had publiſhed the Hiſtory of the Britiſh Colonies in the Weſt Indies, I conceived the deſign of compiling a general account of the ſettlements made by all the nations of Europe in that part of the New Hemiſphere, but more particularly the French, whoſe poſſeſſions were undoubtedly the moſt valuable and productive of the whole Archipelago. This idea ſuggeſted itſelf to me on ſurveying the materials I had collected with regard to their principal colony in St. Domingo; not doubting, as the fortune of war had placed under the Britiſh dominion all or moſt of the other French iſlands, that I ſhould eaſily procure ſuch particulars of the condition, population, and culture of each, as would enable me to complete my deſign, with credit to myſelf, and ſatisfaction to the Publick. I am ſorry to obſerve, that in this expectation I have hitherto found myſelf diſappointed. The preſent publi-

PREFACE to the Firſt Edition.

cation, therefore, is confined wholly to St. Domingo; concerning which, having perſonally viſited that unhappy country ſoon after the revolt of the negroes in 1791, and formed connexions there, which have ſupplied me with regular communications ever ſince, I poſſeſs a maſs of evidence, and important documents. My motives for going thither, are of little conſequence to the Publick; but the circumſtances which occaſioned the voyage, the reception I met with, and the ſituation in which I found the wretched Inhabitants, cannot fail of being intereſting to the reader; and I flatter myſelf that a ſhort account of thoſe particulars, while it confers ſome degree of authenticity on my labours, will not be thought an improper Introduction to my Book.

In the month of September 1791, when I was at Spaniſh Town in Jamaica, two French Gentlemen were introduced to me, who were juſt arrived from St. Domingo, with information that the negro ſlaves belonging to the French part of that iſland, to the number, as was believed, of 100,000 and upwards, had revolted, and were ſpreading death and deſolation over the whole of the northern province. They reported that the governor-general, conſidering the ſituation of the colony as a common cauſe among the white inhabitants of all nations in the Weſt Indies, had diſpatched commiſſioners to the neighbouring iſlands, as well as to the States of North America, to requeſt immediate aſſiſtance of troops, arms, ammunition, and proviſions; and that themſelves were deputed on the ſame errand to the Government at Jamaica: I was accordingly deſired to preſent them to the Earl of Effingham, the commander in chief. Although the diſpatches with which theſe gentlemen were furniſhed, were certainly a very ſufficient introduction to his lordſhip, I did not heſitate to comply with their requeſt; and it is ſcarcely neceſſary to obſerve, that the liberal and enlarged mind which animated every part of Lord Effingham's conduct, needed no ſolicitation, in a caſe of beneficence and humanity. Superior to national prejudice, he felt, as a man and a chriſtian ought to feel, for the calamities of *fellow men*; and he ſaw, in its full extent, the danger to which every iſland in the Weſt Indies would be expoſed from ſuch an example, if the triumph of ſavage anarchy over all order and government ſhould be complete. He therefore, without heſitation, aſſured the commiſſioners that they might depend on receiving from the government of Jamaica, every aſſiſtance and ſuccour which it was in his power to give. Troops he could not offer, for he had them not; but he ſaid he would furniſh arms, ammunition, and proviſions, and he promiſed to conſult with the diſtinguiſhed Officer commanding in the naval department, concerning the propriety of ſending up one or more of his Majeſty's ſhips; the commiſſioners having ſuggeſted that the appearance in their harbours of a few veſſels of war might ſerve to intimidate the inſurgents, and keep them at a diſtance, while the neceſſary defences and intrenchments were making, to preſerve the city of Cape François from an attack.

Admiral Affleck (as from his known worth, and general character might have been expected) very cheerfully co-operated on this occaſion with Lord Effingham; and immediately iſſued orders to the captains of the Blonde and Daphne frigates to proceed, in company with a ſloop of war, forthwith to Cape François. The Centurion was ſoon afterwards ordered to Port-au-Prince. The Blonde being commanded by my amiable and lamented friend, Captain William Affleck, who kindly undertook to convey the French commiſſioners back to St. Domingo, I was eaſily perſuaded to accompany them thither; and ſome other gentlemen of Jamaica joined the party.

We arrived in the harbour of Cape François in the evening of the 26th of September, and the firſt object which arreſted our attention as we approached, was a dreadful ſcene of devaſtation by fire. The noble plain adjoining the Cape was covered with aſhes, and the ſurrounding hills, as far as the eye could reach, every where preſented to us ruins ſtill ſmoking, and houſes and plantations at that moment in flames. It was a ſight more terrible than the mind of any man, unaccuſtomed to ſuch a ſcene, can eaſily conceive.—The inhabitants of the town being aſſembled on the beach, directed all their attention towards us, and we landed amidſt a crowd of ſpectators who, with uplifted hands and ſtreaming eyes, gave welcome to their deliverers (for ſuch they conſidered us) and acclamations of *vivant les Anglois* reſounded from every quarter.

The governor of St. Domingo, at that time, was the unfortunate General Blanchelande; a *marechal de camp* in the French ſervice, who has ſince periſhed on the ſcaffold. He did us the honour to receive us on the quay. A committee of the colonial aſſembly, accompanied by the governor's only ſon, an amiable and accompliſhed youth *, had before attended us on board the Blonde, and we were immediately conducted to the place of their meeting. The ſcene was ſtriking and ſolemn. The hall was ſplendidly illuminated, and all the members appeared in mourning. Chairs were placed for us within the bar, and the Governor having taken his ſeat on the right hand of the Preſident, the latter addreſſed us in an eloquent and affecting oration, of which the following is as literal a tranſlation as the idiom of the two languages will admit:

---

* This young gentleman likewiſe periſhed by the guillotine under the tyranny of Robeſpierre. He was maſſacred at Paris on the 20th July 1794, in the twentieth year of his age.

"We were not miſtaken, Gentlemen, when we placed our "confidence in your generoſity; but we could hardly entertain "the hope, that, beſides ſending us ſuccours, you would come "in perſon to give us conſolation. You have quitted, without "reluctance, the peaceful enjoyment of happineſs at home, to "come and participate in the misfortunes of ſtrangers, and "blend your tears with our's. Scenes of miſery (the contem-"plation of which, to thoſe who are unaccuſtomed to misfor-"tune, is commonly diſguſting) have not ſuppreſſed *your* "feelings. You have been willing to aſcertain the full extent "of our diſtreſſes, and to pour into our wounds the ſalutary "balm of your ſenſibility and compaſſion.

"The picture which has been drawn of our calamities, you "will find has fallen ſhort of the reality. That verdure with "which our fields were lately arrayed, is no longer viſible; "diſcoloured by the flames, and laid waſte by the devaſtations "of war, our coaſts exhibit no proſpect but that of deſolation. "The emblems which we wear on our perſons, are the tokens "of our grief for the loſs of our brethren, who were ſurpriſed, "and cruelly aſſaſſinated, by the revolters.

"It is by the glare of the conflagrations that every way "ſurround

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" ſurround us, that we now deliberate: we are compelled to " ſit armed and watchful through the night, to keep the enemy " from our ſanctuary. For a long time paſt our boſoms have " been depreſſed by ſorrow; they experience this day, for the " firſt time, the ſweet emotions of pleaſure, in beholding you " amongſt us.

" GENEROUS iſlanders! humanity has operated powerfully " on your hearts;—you have yielded to the firſt emotion of your " generoſity, in the hopes of ſnatching us from death; for it is " already too late to ſave us from miſery. What a contraſt " between *your* conduct, and that of other nations! We will " avail ourſelves of your benevolence; but the days you pre- " ſerve to us, will not be ſufficient to manifeſt our gratitude: " our children ſhall keep it in remembrance.

" REGENERATED France, unapprized that ſuch calamities " might befal us, has taken no meaſures to protect us againſt " their effects: with what admiration will ſhe learn, that, " without your aſſiſtance, we ſhould no longer exiſt as a depen- " dency to any nation.

" THE Commiſſioners deputed by us to the iſland of Ja- " maica, have informed us of your exertions to ſerve us.—Re- " ceive the aſſurance of our attachment and ſenſibility.

" THE Governor-general of this iſland, whoſe ſentiments per- " fectly accord with our own, participates equally in the joy " we feel at your preſence, and in our gratitude for the aſſiſt- " ance you have brought us."

AT this juncture, the French coloniſts in St. Domingo, however they might have been divided in political ſentiments on former occaſions, ſeemed to be ſoftened, by the ſenſe of common ſuffering, into perfect unanimity. All deſcriptions of perſons joined in one general outcry againſt the National Aſſembly, to whoſe proceedings were imputed all their diſaſters. This opinion was indeed ſo widely diſſeminated, and ſo deeply rooted, as to create a very ſtrong diſpoſition in the white inhabitants of Cape François, to renounce their allegiance to the mother country. The black cockade was univerſally ſubſtituted in place of the tri-coloured one, and very earneſt wiſhes were avowed in all companies, without ſcruple or reſtraint, that the Britiſh adminiſtration would ſend an armament to conquer the iſland, or rather to receive its voluntary ſurrender from the inhabitants. What they wiſhed might happen, they perſuaded themſelves to believe was actually in contemplation; and this idea ſoon became ſo prevalent, as to place the author of this work in an awkward ſituation. The ſanguine diſpoſition obſervable in the French character, has been noticed by all who have viſited them; but in this caſe their credulity grew to a height that was extravagant and even ridiculous. By the kindneſs of the Earl of Effingham, I was favoured with a letter of introduction to the Governor-general; and my reception, both by M. Blanchelande and the colonial aſſembly, was ſuch as not only to excite the publick attention, but alſo to induce a very general belief that no common motive had brought me thither. The ſuggeſtions of individuals to this purpoſe, became perplexing and troubleſome. Aſſurances on my part, that I had no views beyond the gratification of curioſity, had no other effect than to call forth commendations on my prudence. It was ſettled, that I was an agent of the Engliſh miniſtry, ſent purpoſely to ſound the inclinations of the Coloniſts towards the Government of Great Britain, preparatory to an invaſion of the country by a Britiſh armament; and their wiſhes and inclinations co-operating with this idea, gave riſe to many ſtrange applications which were made to me; ſome of them of ſo ludicrous a nature, as no powers of face could eaſily withſtand.

This circumſtance is not recorded from the vain ambition of ſhewing my own importance. The reader of the following pages will diſcover its application; and, perhaps, it may induce him to make ſome allowance for that confident expectation of ſure and ſpeedy ſucceſs, which afterwards led to attempts, by the Britiſh arms, againſt this ill-fated country, with means that muſt otherwiſe have been thought at the time,—as in the ſequel they have unhappily proved,—altogether inadequate to the object in view.

The ravages of the rebellion, during the time that I remained at Cape François, extended in all directions. The whole of the plain of the Cape, with the exception of one plantation which adjoined the town, was in ruins; as were likewiſe the pariſh of Limonade, and moſt of the ſettlements in the mountains adjacent. The pariſh of Limbé was every where on fire; and before my departure, the rebels had obtained poſſeſſion of the bay and forts at l'Acul, as well as the diſtricts of Fort Dauphin, Dondon, and La Grande Riviere.

Destruction every where marked their progreſs, and reſiſtance ſeemed to be conſidered by the whites, not only as unavailing in the preſent conjuncture, but as hopeleſs in future. To fill up the meaſure of their calamities, their Spaniſh neighbours in the ſame iſland, with a ſpirit of bigotry and hatred which is, I believe, without an example in the world, refuſed to lend any aſſiſtance towards ſuppreſſing a revolt, in the iſſue of which common reaſon ſhould have informed them, that their own preſervation was implicated equally with that of the French. They were even accuſed not only of ſupplying the rebels with arms and proviſions; but alſo of delivering up to them to be murdered, many unhappy French planters who had fled for refuge to the Spaniſh territories, and receiving money from the rebels as the price of their blood. Of theſe latter charges, however, no proof was, I believe, ever produced; and, for the honour of human nature, I am unwilling to believe that they are true.

To myſelf, the caſe appeared altogether deſperate from the beginning; and many of the moſt reſpectable and beſt informed perſons in Cape François (ſome of them in high ſtations) aſſured me, in confidence, that they concurred in this opinion. The merchants and importers of European manufactures, apprehending every hour the deſtruction of the town, as much from incendiaries within, as from the rebels without, offered their goods for ready money at half the uſual prices; and applications were made to Captain Affleck, by perſons of all deſcriptions, for permiſſion to embark in the Blonde for Jamaica. The interpoſition of the colonial government obliged him to reject their ſolicitations; but means were contrived to ſend on board conſignments of money to a great amount; and I know that other conveyances were found, by which effects to a conſiderable value were exported both to Jamaica, and the ſtates of North America.

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UNDER theſe circumſtances, it very naturally occurred to me to direct my enquiries towards the ſtate of the colony previous to the revolt, and collect authentick information on the ſpot, concerning the primary cauſe, and ſubſequent progreſs, of the widely extended ruin before me. Strongly impreſſed with the gloomy idea, that the only memorial of this once flouriſhing colony would ſoon be found in the records of hiſtory, I was deſirous that my own country and fellow-coloniſts, in lamenting its cataſtrophe, might at the ſame time profit by ſo terrible an example. My means of information were too valuable to be neglected, and I determined to avail myſelf of them. The governor-general furniſhed me with copies of all the papers and details of office that I ſolicited, with a politeneſs that augmented the favour. The fate of this unhappy gentleman, two years afterwards, gave me infinite concern. Like his royal maſter, he was unfortunately called to a ſtation to which his abilities were not competent; and in times when perhaps no abilities would have availed him.

THE Preſident of the colonial aſſembly, at the time of my arrival, was M. de Caduſh, who ſome time afterwards took up his reſidence, and held an important office, in Jamaica. He was a man of very diſtinguiſhed talents, and withal ſtrongly and ſincerely attached to the Britiſh government, of which, if it were proper, I could furniſh unqueſtionable proof *. This gentleman drew up, at my requeſt, a ſhort account of the origin and progreſs of the rebellion; and after my return to England,

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* He afterwards accompanied General Williamſon back to St. Domingo, and was killed (or, as I have heard, baſely murdered) in a duel at Port au Prince, by one of his countrymen.

favoured me with his correſpondence. Many important facts, which are given in this work, are given on his authority.

To M. Delaire, a very conſiderable and reſpectable merchant in the town of the Cape, who has ſince removed to the ſtate of South Carolina, I was indebted for a ſimilar narrative, drawn up by himſelf in the Engliſh language, of which he is a very competent maſter. It is brief, but much to the purpoſe; diſplays an intimate knowledge of the concerns of the colony, and traces, with great acuteneſs, its diſaſters to their ſource.

BUT the friend from whoſe ſuperior knowledge I have derived my chief information in all reſpects, is the gentleman alluded to in the note *(d)* Chap. VIII. of the following ſheets; and I ſincerely regret, that ill fortune has ſo purſued him as to render it improper in this work to expreſs to him, *by name*, the obligations I owe to his kindneſs. After a narrow eſcape from the vengeance of thoſe merciless men, Santhonax and Polverel, he was induced to return to St. Domingo, to look after his property; and, I grieve to ſay, that he is again fallen into the hands of his enemies. He found means, however, previous to his preſent confinement, to convey to me many valuable papers; and, among others, a copy of that moſt curious and important document, the dying depoſition or teſtament of Ogè, mentioned in the fourth chapter, and printed at large among the additional notes and illuſtrations at the end of my work. Of this paper (the communication of which, in proper time, would have prevented the dreadful ſcenes that followed) although I had frequently heard, I had long doubted the exiſtence. Its ſuppreſſion by the perſons to whom it was delivered by the wretched ſufferer, appeared to be an act of ſuch monſtrous and unexampled wickedneſs, that, until I ſaw the paper itſelf, I could not credit the charge. Whether M. Blanchelande was a party concerned in this atrocious proceeding, as my friend aſſerts, I know not. If he was guilty, he has juſtly paid the forfeit of his crime; and although, believing him innocent, I mourned over his untimely fate, I ſcruple not to avow my opinion, that if he had poſſeſſed a thouſand lives, the loſs of them all had not been a ſufficient atonement, in ſo enormous a caſe, to violated juſtice!

Such were the motives that induced me to undertake this Hiſtorical Survey of the French part of St. Domingo, and ſuch are the authorities from whence I have derived my information concerning thoſe calamitous events which have brought it to ruin. Yet I will frankly confeſs, that, if I have any credit with the publick as an author, I am not ſure this work will add to my reputation. Every writer muſt riſe or ſink, in ſome degree, with the nature of his ſubject; and on this occaſion, the picture which I ſhall exhibit, has nothing in it to delight the fancy, or to gladden the heart. The proſpects before us are all dark and diſmal. Here is no room for tracing the beauties of unſullied nature. Thoſe groves of perennial verdure; thoſe magnificent and romantick landſcapes, which, in tropical regions, every where invite the eye, and oftentimes detain it, until wonder is exalted to devotion, muſt now give place to the miſeries of war, and the horrors of peſtilence; to ſcenes of anarchy, deſolation, and carnage. We have to contemplate the human mind in its utmoſt deformity; to behold ſavage man, let looſe from reſtraint, exerciſing cruelties, of which the bare recital makes the heart recoil, and committing crimes which are hitherto unheard of in hiſtory; teeming

> ——— all monſtrous, all prodigious things,
> Abominable, unutterable, and worſe
> Than fables yet have feign'd, or fear conceiv'd!
>
> MILTON.

ALL therefore that I can hope and expect is, that my narrative, if it cannot delight, may at leaſt *inſtruct*. On the ſober and conſiderate, on thoſe who are open to conviction, this aſſemblage of horrors will have its effect. It will expoſe the lamentable ignorance of ſome, and the monſtrous wickedneſs of others, among the reformers of the preſent day, who, urging onwards ſchemes of perfection, and projects of amendment in the condition of human life, faſter than nature allows, are lighting up a conſuming fire between the different claſſes of mankind, which nothing but human blood can extinguiſh. To tell ſuch men that great and beneficial modifications in the eſtabliſhed orders of ſociety, can only be effected by a progreſſive improvement in the ſituation of the lower ranks of the people, is to preach to the winds. In their hands reformation, with a ſcythe more deſtructive than that of time, mows down every thing, and plants nothing. Moderation and caution they conſider as rank cowardice. Force and violence are the ready, and, in their opinion, the only proper application for the cure of early and habitual prejudice. Their practice, like that of other mountebanks, is bold and compendious; their motto is, *cure or kill*.

THESE reflections naturally ariſe from the circumſtance which is incontrovertibly proved in the following pages, namely, that the rebellion of the negroes in St. Domingo, and the inſurrection of the mulattoes, to whom Ogè was ſent as ambaſſador, had one and the ſame origin. It was not the ſtrong and irreſiſtible impulſe of human nature, groaning under oppreſſion, that excited either of thoſe claſſes to plunge their daggers into the boſoms of unoffending women and helpleſs infants. They were driven into thoſe exceſſes—reluctantly driven—by the vile machinations of men calling themſelves philoſophers (the proſelytes and imitators in France, of the Old Jewry aſſociates in London) whoſe pretences to philanthropy were as groſs a mockery of human reaſon, as their conduct was an outrage on all the feelings of our nature, and the ties which hold ſociety together!

It is indeed true, that negro-rebellions have heretofore ariſen in this and other iſlands of the Weſt Indies, to which no ſuch exciting cauſes contributed:—but it is equally certain, that thoſe rebellions always originated among the newly-imported negroes only; many of whom had probably lived in a ſtate of freedom in Africa, and had been fraudulently, or forcibly, ſold into ſlavery by their chiefs. That caſes of this kind do ſometimes occur in the ſlave trade, I dare not diſpute, and I admit that revolt and inſurrection are their natural conſequences.

But, in St. Domingo, a very conſiderable part of the inſurgents were—not Africans, but—Creoles, or natives. Some of the leaders were favoured domeſticks among the white inhabitants, born and brought up in their families. A few of them had even received thoſe advantages, the perverſion of which, under their philoſophical preceptors, ſerved only to render them pre-eminent in miſchief; for having been taught to read, they were led to imbibe, and enabled to promulgate, thoſe principles and doctrines which led, and always will lead, to the ſubverſion of all government and order.

Let me not be underſtood, however, as affirming that nothing is to be attributed on this occaſion to the ſlave-trade. I ſcorn to have recourſe to concealment or falſhood. Unqueſtionably, the vaſt annual importations of enſlaved Africans into St. Domingo, for many years previous to 1791, had created a black population in the French part of that iſland, which was, beyond all meaſure, diſproportionate to the white;—the relative numbers of the two claſſes being as ſixteen to one. Of this circumſtance the leaders of the rebels could not be unobſervant, and they doubtleſs derived encouragement and confidence from it. Here too, I admit, is a warning and an admonition to ourſelves. The inference has not eſcaped me:—it conſtitutes my parting words with the reader, and I hope they are not urged in vain.

Having thus pointed out the motives which induced me to write the following Narrative; the ſources from whence my materials are derived, and the purpoſes which I hope will be anſwered by the publication; nothing farther remains but to ſubmit the work itſelf to the judgment of my readers, which I do with a reſpectful ſolicitude.

ADVERTISEMENT.

(1800.)

Advertiſement. (1800.)

IN preſenting the preſent edition of the Hiſtorical Survey of St. Domingo *to the Publick, it is incumbent on me to acknowledge, that the many important corrections and improvements it has received in thoſe chapters which relate to the conſtitution and political ſtate of the French colony, under the ancient ſyſtem, are chiefly derived from the very intelligent and intereſting work of* M. Laborie, *entitled,* The Coffee Planter of St. Domingo.

On this occaſion alſo I hope I may be allowed, as well in juſtice to myſelf, as from a ſenſe of gratitude and reſpect towards the memory of my lamented friend, Sir Adam Williamson, *to boaſt that I had the honour and advantage of* his *aſſiſtance in that part of my work which details the proceedings and operations of the Britiſh army in this ill-fated country; moſt of the ſheets having been reviſed by him, as they came from the preſs, and corrected by his own pen in many places. Motives of prudence and delicacy (which no longer exiſt) induced me to ſuppreſs this acknowledgement in the*

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lifetime of my friend. Some errors and omiſſions which (perhaps unavoidably) eſcaped his notice, have ſince been corrected and ſupplied by a Britiſh officer of noble birth, and conſiderable rank in the army, who ſerved on the ſpot; and whoſe name, if I were permitted to diſcloſe it, would ſtamp indiſputable authority on the communications he has kindly furniſhed. That many miſtakes and overſights however ſtill remain, I am too conſcious of my own inſufficiency to doubt; nor in truth could the greateſt precaution on my part have enabled me, at all times, to guard againſt miſrepreſentation from ſome of the various perſons whom the neceſſity of the caſe compelled me to conſult. Thus, in giving an account of the French coloniſts;—their diſpoſition towards the Engliſh, and their conduct towards each other;—to whom could I look for authentick information, but to ſome of themſelves? Experience however has convinced me, that no great dependence can be placed on the charges and accuſations which men raiſe againſt their fellow citizens in times of civil commotion, and amidſt the tumult of conflicting paſſions. A remarkable inſtance of the truth of this obſervation occurs in the caſe of a very reſpectable Gentleman, formerly an inhabitant of Cape François: I mean M. AUGUSTUS DE GRASSE, *(ſon of the late gallant Admiral* COUNT DE GRASSE) *to whom I now think myſelf bound in honour to make a publick reparation. In a paper formerly tranſmitted to me from St. Domingo, and annexed to the 8th chapter of my work, entitled,* Notes ſur l'Evenement du Cap, *this gentleman was unjuſtly charged with having been preſent at the deſtruction of that town by the rebel negroes, aiding, abetting, and co-operating with their chiefs. I am now convinced that this atrocious charge is altogether groundleſs, and I cannot ſufficiently expreſs*

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" NOUS ſouſſignés, habitans de la ville du Cap et de ſes dépendences, préſent au pillage, au maſſacre et à l'incendié de cette ville, les 19, 20, 21 Juin 1793, et jours ſuivants, certifions et atteſtons, ſour la foy du ſerment, et pour rendre homage à la verité, Que M. Alexandre François Auguſte De Graſſe, habitant de la dépendance du Port de Paix, département du Cap, iſle St. Domingue, fils du feu Comte de Graſſe, &c. &c. etoit dans la ville du Cap avant et pendant le pillage, le maſſacre et l'incendiè de cette ville, en qualité d'adjudant général de l'armée des blancs en activité contre les noirs inſurgés ; qu'aprés ce funeſte evénément il fut perſécuté par les commiſſaires civiles, et mis par leurs ordres aux arrêts, au haut du Cap, ſous la garde des negres armés, comme ſoupçonné d'avoir agi contre éux avec le Général Galbaud, mais, qu'après s'étre juſtifie, il fut réintegré dans ſes fonctions, et chargé immédiatement du commandement des caſernes ; où il a protégé avec les troupes blanches, qui y étaient ſous ſes ordres, les hommes, femmes et enfans, échappés au fer et aux flâmes, qui s'y étaient réfugiés. Et qu' enfin, forcé, comme une partie des ſouſſignés, a fuir les dangers qui ménaçaient encore les triſtes débris de la population blanche, il s'eſt embarqué avec ſa femme, un enfant et quelques

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uns des ſouſſignés, le 28 Juillet 1793, ſur le brig le Thomas de Boſton, deſtiné pour Charleſton, Caroline du Sud, où il eſt arrivé et réſide depuis le 14 Aout 1793, après avoir été, ainſi qu' environ 150 malheureux fugitifs, barbarement pillés par le corſaire Anglais La Suſanna de Naſſau, Cap. Tucker, (qui n'auroit pas dû les conſiderer ni les traiter comme des ennemis, étans d'ailleurs ſur un batiment neutre, qui ne contenoit uniquement que des paſſagers et leurs effets,) non ſeulement des negres domeſtiques qui les avaient volontairement ſuivis, mais encore du peu d'argent, de bijoux et de veſelle d'argent qu'ils avaient ſauvés du pillage par le ſecours de ces mêmes domeſtiques, (ce ſecond pillage eut tien à la Grande Inague des Iſles Caiques, où le corſaire Anglais retint notre vaiſſeau deux jours, pour completter cet exploit). Certifions et atteſtons pareillement, que M. De Graſſe arrivé à St. Domingue avant la révolution, n'a jamais ceſſé, du moment que ſes effets ſe ſont manifeſtés dans cette infortuneé colonnie juſqu à celui de ſon départ, d'étre uni authentiquement avec les habitans blancs et en qualité de chef, élû par eux mêmes, ſoit au Port de Paix ſoit au Cap, pour repouſſer les dangers aux quels leurs vies et leurs propriétés étoient journellement expoſés par les noirs inſurgés, et enfin, qu'aucunes circonſtances, pendant le cours des funeſtes evénémens de St. Domingue, n'ont jamais donné lieu à former contre lui la moindre ſuſpiçion contraire aux interets et à la ſureté individuelle de la population blanche de St. Domingue.

En foy de quoi nous avons ſignés, a Charleſton, Caroline du Sud, le 25 Octobre 1799.

(Signed by twenty reſpectable perſons.)

Having

Advertiſement. (1800.)

Having thus made all the reparation in my power to this injured gentleman, I have farther to remark, in juſtice to myſelf, that my obſervations concerning the indiſpoſition of the Planters of St. Domingo towards the Engliſh, on the arrival of the firſt armament, appear, from a converſation I have had with ſome of them, to have been greatly miſunderſtood. Surely it reflects no diſhonour on ſuch of thoſe gentlemen as had no concern in, or knowledge of, the invitation made to General Williamſon, to ſay that they were not, in the firſt inſtance, very cordially diſpoſed towards their invaders—eſpecially too, as thoſe invaders came with a force by no means ſufficient to give them certain and permanent protection. Whatever might have been the ſentiments of certain individuals among them on this occaſion, and how ſtrongly ſoever the inhabitants of Cape François *had, two years before, in a moment of irritation, expreſſed a wiſh for a Britiſh invaſion, it ſeems to me that the chief planters throughout the colony were altogether unacquainted with the Engliſh, and entertain no very favourable opinion of their laws, government or manners. What then was their ſituation on the firſt arrival of the Britiſh troops? aſſailed on the one hand, by a deſperate and unprincipled faction of republicans and anarchiſts, whoſe principles they abhorred, and, on the other, called upon to co-operate with an inſignificant foreign armament, which came, on the invitation of a few obſcure Frenchmen, not to reſtore the country to the loyal inhabitants, but diſtinctly and avowedly to conquer and annex it to the Britiſh dominion! In this dilemma, the majority of the planters acted as conſcientious men might be expected to act. A great many of them left the country, and went into honourable poverty and exile in a diſtant land. Others, who were unable to follow their example, remained in ſilent obſcurity, in different parts of the iſland, waiting patiently* *(and I grieve to ſay, without effect) for better times. If all this be duly conſidered, I truſt I ſhall be no longer told, that I have calumniated the French Planters, merely becauſe, as an impartial hiſtorian, I have repreſented them to have acted as any other body of men, attached to their country, and faithful to their allegiance, would probably have acted, in ſimilar circumſtances.*

Advertiſement. (1800.)

London, 1800. B. E.

AN HISTORICAL SURVEY OF SAINT DOMINGO, &c.

CHAP. I.

Political State of SAINT DOMINGO previous to the Year 1789.

CHAP. I. Inhabitants.

THE Inhabitants of the French part of St. Domingo, as of all the Weſt Indian Iſlands, were compoſed of three great claſſes: 1ſt, pure whites. 2d, people of colour, and blacks of free condition. 3d, negroes and mulattoes in a ſtate of ſlavery. The reader is appriſed that the claſs which, by a ſtrange abuſe of language, is called *people of colour*, originates from an intermixture of the whites and the blacks. The genuine offspring of a pure white with a negroe is called a mulatto; but there are various caſts, produced by ſubſequent connections, ſome of which draw near to the whites, until all viſible diſtinction between them is loſt; whilſt others fall retrograde to the blacks. All theſe were known in St. Domingo by the term *ſang-melées*, or *gens de couleur* (in familiar converſation they are collectively called *mulattoes)* and it muſt be attributed, I preſume, to the greater diſcountenance which the married ſtate receives from the national manners, that

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in all the French iſlands theſe people abound in far greater proportion to the whites than in thoſe of Great Britain. In Jamaica, the whites out-number the people of colour as three to one. In St. Domingo, the whites were eſtimated at 30,000, the mulattoes at 24,000; of whom 4,700 were men capable of bearing arms, and accordingly, as a diſtinct people, actuated by an *eſprit de corps*, they were very formidable. Of the policy which it was thought neceſſary in St. Domingo to maintain towards this unfortunate race, I ſhall preſently treat; but it ſeems proper, in the firſt place, to give ſome account of the ſubordination in which, before the revolution of 1789, the parent ſtate thought fit to hold the colony at large.

THE laws of the mother country, as far as they were applicable, (as well the unwritten law, *or cuſtoms of Paris*, as the general laws of the king), were laws of St. Domingo. Theſe had been introduced without formal promulgation, being ſuppoſed to attach to all the ſubjects of France, whether abroad or at home; and the king iſſued, from time to time, colonial edicts, which were received with entire ſubmiſſion. Even mandatory letters written by the miniſter, in the king's name, were conſidered and obeyed as laws in the colony.

Government.

THE government was exerciſed by a Governor General, and an officer called Intendant, both of whom were nominated by the crown, on the recommendation of the miniſter of the marine, and generally conſidered as eſtabliſhed in their reſpective offices for three years. Their powers, in ſome caſes, were adminiſtered jointly; in others, they poſſeſſed ſeparate and diſtinct authority, which each of them exercifed without the concurrence or participation of the other.

In their joint adminiſtration they were empowered to enact ſuch regulations as the exiſting exigencies of the country required; and their proviſional decrees had the force of laws, until revoked by the king. The grants of unclaimed lands and rivers; the erection of publick works and buildings; the opening publick roads and repairing bridges; the regulation and police of the ſeveral ports of ſhipping; the proviſional appointment of the members of the ſuperior councils or courts of juſtice in caſes of vacancy, and the abſolute nomination of the ſubordinate officers of thoſe courts, were concerns of joint authority. With the conſent of the king's attorney, the governor and intendant had power to ſtay execution in caſes of capital conviction, until the king's pleaſure ſhould be known; and they were commiſſioned to try and condemn to capital puniſhment defrauders of the publick revenue, calling to their aſſiſtance five judges of the ſuperior councils. The government of the clergy, the regulation of church eſtabliſhments, and the erection of pariſhes, fell likewiſe under their joint cognizance; and they were empowered, in times of publick neceſſity (of which they were the judges) to ſuſpend, in certain reſpects, the laws of navigation, by admitting importations of flour and bread, and allowing the exportation of colonial produce in foreign veſſels. Againſt abuſes in the exerciſe of theſe various powers the people had no certain protection. Fortunately, it was rare that the governor and intendant agreed in opinion on the exerciſe of their joint authority, which therefore became neceſſarily relaxed; and the inhabitants derived ſome degree of ſecurity from the diſputes and diſſenſions of the contending parties. In all ſuch caſes, however, the greateſt weight of authority and right of deciding devolved on the governor. He was, in truth, an abſolute prince, whoſe will, generally ſpeaking, conſtituted law. He was authorized to impriſon any perſon in the colony, for cauſes of which he alone was the judge; and having at the ſame time the ſupreme command of both the naval and military force, he had the means of exerciſing this power whenever he thought proper. On the other hand, no arreſt, by any other authority, was valid without the governor's approbation. Thus he had power to ſtop the courſe of juſtice, and to hold the courts of civil and criminal juriſdiction in a ſlaviſh dependance on himſelf.

The peculiar province of the intendant, beſides that of regulating the publick revenues or finances of the colony, was the adminiſtration of juſtice. His powers and functions were expreſſed in his title, *Intendant of juſtice, police, finance, war, and navy.* The collectors and receivers of all duties and taxes were ſubject to his inſpection and controul. He paſſed or rejected their accounts, and made them ſuch allowances as he alone thought proper. The application of all the publick monies in expenditures of all kinds for the army, the navy, fortifications, and publick hoſpitals, reſted entirely with the intendant;—a province which created ſuch temptation to himſelf as no virtue could reſiſt, and furniſhed ſuch means of corruption, as overcame all oppoſition from others.

The taxes and duties were laid and modified, as occaſion required, by a court compoſed of the governor-general, the intendant,

tendant, the preſidents of the provincial councils, the attorney-general, the commiſſioner of the navy *(ordonnateur)* and the ſeveral commandants of the militia. This court was dignified by the title of the *Colonial Aſſembly*, although the coloniſts had not a ſingle delegate in it. It ought not however to be ſuppreſſed that the taxes, were on the whole, very moderate. The total expenditure, comprehending all the contigencies of the colonial government, ſeldom exceeded £. 50,000 ſterling per annum *(a)*.

For the better adminiſtration of juſtice, and the eaſier collection of the revenues, the colony was divided into three provinces (which were diſtinguiſhed, from their relative ſituation, by the names of the Northern, the Weſtern, and Southern), and ſubdivided into ten diſtricts. In each of thoſe provinces reſided a deputy-governor, or commander *en ſecond*, and in each diſtrict was eſtabliſhed a ſubordinate court of juſtice, for the trial of

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(a) The colonial taxes were called *Octroi*, and conſiſted principally of duties on the exportation of the chief articles of produce. The lateſt aſſeſſment previous to the revolution was made in 1776. There was, beſides thoſe duties, a direct tax of 2½ per cent. on the rents of houſes in the towns, and a poll-tax of three dollars on ſlave ſervants or artificers belonging to eſtates or manufactures, the products of which were not exportable, as proviſion plantations, lime and brick kilns, &c. This ſyſtem of taxing their exported produce is juſtified by Monſ. Laborie on the following ground: "The difference of ſoil in St. Domingo" (he obſerves) "is ſuch, that a plantation of double "the extent of land, and with twice the number of negroes and cattle, and managed "with equal ſkill, ſhall often yield much leſs than another with half the ſame advantages: "a tax therefore on the produce, is more equal and proportionate than either a land-"tax or a poll-tax upon the negroes." Exterior expences, ſuch as the navy, and extraordinaries of all kinds, were paid by the crown out of the duties which were levied on the produce of the colony imported into the mother country.

of cauſes both civil and criminal. Appeals however were allowed to the ſuperior councils; of which there were two; one at *Cape François* for the Northern province, the other at *Port-au-Prince* for the Weſtern and Southern. They were compoſed of the governor-general, the intendant, the deputy-governors, the king's lieutenants *(b)*, a preſident, and twelve counſellors, four *aſſeſſeurs*, or aſſiſtant judges, together with the attorney-general and regiſter. In theſe councils, or courts of ſupreme juriſdiction, as in the parliaments of France, the king's edicts, and thoſe of the governor and intendant, were regiſtered. Seven members conſtituted a quorum, but an appeal lay to the king in the laſt reſort.

In moſt of the towns was a municipal eſtabliſhment, called *officers of the police*; conſiſting of inſpectors, exempts, brigadiers, and ſerjeants. They were authorized to proceed ſummarily in quelling of riots; to arreſt perſons guilty of aſſault and battery, and thieves taken with *mainour*. They were appointed by the courts of juſtice, and were diſtinguiſhed by a badge.

Another corps of nearly the ſame deſcription, but of more extenſive uſe, and of a more military character, was called the *maréchauſſée*.

(b) Theſe king's lieutenants were military officers reſiding in the ſeveral towns, commonly with the rank of colonel. There were alſo in each town *majors* and *aides-major*. All theſe officers were wholly independent of the civil power, and owned no ſuperior but the governor-general, who could diſmiſs them at pleaſure. It may be proper to obſerve too, that the counſellors held their ſeats by a very uncertain tenure. One of the governors (the Prince de Rohan) ſent the whole number ſtate priſoners to France. They were ſeized on their ſeats of juſtice, and put on board a ſhip in irons, and in that condition conveyed to Paris, and ſhut up for a long time in the Baſtile, without trial or hearing.

maréchauſſée. It was partly compoſed of cavalry; and its functions were to watch over the general tranquillity; to protect travellers on the publick highways; to arreſt negroes wandering without paſſports, and malefactors of all deſcriptions; to enforce the prompt execution of civil and criminal proceſs, and, laſtly, to aſſiſt in the collection of the publick taxes.

THE number of the king's troops on the colonial eſtabliſhment was commonly from 2 to 3,000 men, compoſing two regiments of foot, and a brigade of artillery recruited from France; and each of the 51 pariſhes into which the colony was divided, raiſed one or more companies of white militia, a company of mulattoes, and a company of free blacks. The whole number was reckoned between ſeven and eight thouſand. The officers, both of the regular troops and the militia, were commiſſioned proviſionally by the governor-general, ſubject to the king's approbation; but the militia received no pay of any kind.

FROM this recapitulation, it is evident that the peace and happineſs of the people of St. Domingo depended very much on the perſonal qualities and native diſpoſition of the governor-general, who was commonly ſelected from the navy or army. At the ſame time it muſt be honeſtly admitted, that the liberality and mildneſs, which of late years have dignified and ſoftened the military character among all the nations of Europe, had a powerful influence in the adminiſtration of the government in the French colonies. It muſt be allowed alſo, that the manifeſt importance to which, as mankind become diveſted of ancient prejudices, the commercial part of the community, even among the French, has imperceptibly riſen, inſured to the wealthy and opulent planters a degree of reſpect from perſons in power, which, in former times, attached only to noble birth and powerful connections; while the lower orders among the whites derived the ſame advantage from that unconquerable diſtinction which nature herſelf has legibly drawn between the white and black inhabitants; and from their viſible importance, in a country where, from the diſproportion of the whites to the blacks, the common ſafety of the former claſs depends altogether on their united exertions.

To contend, as ſome philoſophers have idly contended, that no natural ſuperiority can juſtly belong to any one race of people over another, to Europeans over Africans, merely from a difference of colour, is to waſte words to no purpoſe, and to combat with air. Among the inhabitants of every iſland in the Weſt Indies, it is the colour, with ſome few exceptions, that diſtinguiſhes freedom from ſlavery: ſo long therefore as freedom ſhall be enjoyed excluſively by one race of people, and ſlavery be the condition of another, contempt and degradation will attach to the colour by which that condition is generally recognized, and follow it, in ſome degree, through its varieties and affinities. We may trace a ſimilar prejudice among the moſt liberal and enlightened nations of Europe. Although nothing ſurely ought to reflect greater luſtre on any man, than the circumſtance of his having riſen, by induſtry and virtue, above the diſadvantages of mean birth and indigent parentage, there are, nevertheleſs, but few perſons in the world who delight to be reminded of this ſpecies of merit. There is a conſciouſneſs of ſomething diſgraceful in the recollection; and it ſeems therefore reaſonable to conclude, that if nature had made the ſame diſtinction in this caſe as in the other, and ſtamped, by an indelible mark, the condition and parentage on the forehead, the ſame, or nearly the ſame, effect would have reſulted from it, as reſults from the difference of colour in the Weſt Indies. I mean however only to account for, in ſome degree, not to defend altogether, the conduct of the whites of St. Domingo towards the coloured people; whoſe condition was in truth much worſe than that of the ſame claſs in the Britiſh colonies, and not to be juſtified on any principle of example or reaſon.

Free Mulattoes.

IN many reſpects their ſituation was even more degrading and wretched than that of the enſlaved negroes in any part of the Weſt Indies; all of whom have maſters that are intereſted in their preſervation, and many of whom find in thoſe maſters powerful friends and vigilant protectors. Although releaſed from the dominion of individuals, yet the free men of colour in all the French iſlands were ſtill conſidered as the property of the publick, and as publick property they were obnoxious to the caprice and tyranny of all thoſe whom the accident of birth had placed above them. By the colonial governments they were treated as ſlaves in the ſtricteſt ſenſe; they were liable, on attaining the age of manhood, to ſerve three years in the military eſtabliſhment called the *maréchauſſée*, and on the expiration of that term they were compelled to ſerve in the militia of the pariſh or quarter to which they belonged, without pay or allowance of any kind, and in the horſe or foot, at the pleaſure of the commanding officer; and obliged alſo to ſupply themſelves, at their own expence, with arms, ammunition, and accoutrements. The rigour with which the king's lieutenants, majors, and aides-major, enforced their authority over theſe people, had degenerated into the baſeſt tyranny.

They were forbidden to hold any publick office, truſt, or employment, however inſignificant; they were not even allowed to exerciſe any of thoſe profeſſions, to which ſome ſort of liberal education is ſuppoſed to be neceſſary. All the naval and military departments, all degrees in law, phyſick, and divinity, were appropriated excluſively by the whites. A mulatto could not be a prieſt, nor a lawyer, nor a phyſician, nor a ſurgeon, nor an apothecary, nor a ſchoolmaſter. He could not even aſſume the ſirname of the white man to whom he owed his being. Neither did the diſtinction of colour terminate, as in the Britiſh Weſt Indies, with the third generation. The privileges of a white perſon were not allowed to any deſcendant from an African, however remote the origin. The taint in the blood was incurable, and ſpread to the lateſt poſterity. Hence no white man, who had the ſmalleſt pretenſions to character, would ever think of marriage with a negro or mulatto woman: ſuch a ſtep would immediately have terminated in his diſgrace and ruin.

Under the preſſure of theſe accumulated grievances, hope itſelf, too frequently the only ſolace of the wretched, was denied to theſe unfortunate people; for the courts of criminal juriſdiction adopting the popular prejudices againſt them, gave effect and permanency to the ſyſtem. A man of colour being proſecutor (a circumſtance in truth which ſeldom occurred) muſt have made out a ſtrong caſe indeed, if at any time he obtained the conviction of a white perſon. On the other hand, the whites never failed to procure prompt and ſpeedy juſtice againſt the mulattoes. To mark more ſtrongly the diſtinction between the two claſſes, the law declared that if a free man of colour preſumed to ſtrike a white perſon of whatever condition, his right hand ſhould be cut off; while a white man, for a ſimilar aſſault on a free mulatto, was diſmiſſed on the payment of an inſignificant fine.

In extenuation of this horrible detail, it may be ſaid with truth that the manners of the white inhabitants ſoftened, in ſome meaſure, the ſeverity of their laws: thus, in the caſe laſt mentioned, the univerſal abhorrence which would have attended an enforcement of the penalty, made the law a dead letter. It was the ſame with the Roman law of the Twelve Tables, by which a father was allowed to inflict the puniſhment of death on his own child:—manners, not law, prevented the exertion of a power ſo unnatural and odious.

But the circumſtance which contributed moſt to afford the coloured people of St. Domingo protection, was the privilege they poſſeſſed of acquiring and holding property to any amount. Several of them were the owners of conſiderable eſtates; and having happily the means of gratifying the venality of their ſuperiors, theſe were ſecure enough in their perſons; although the ſame circumſtance made them more pointedly the objects of hatred and envy to the lower orders of the whites.

Enſlaved negroes.

The next and loweſt claſs of people in the French iſlands were the negroes in a ſtate of ſlavery; of whom, in the year 1789, St Domingo contained no leſs than 480,000. It was in favour of this claſs that Louis XIV. in the year 1685, publiſhed the celebrated edict, or code of regulations, which is well known to the world under the title of the *Code Noir*; and it muſt be allowed, that many of its proviſions breathe a ſpirit of tenderneſs and philanthropy which reflects honour on the memory of its author;—but there is this misfortune attending this, and muſt attend all other ſyſtems of the ſame nature, that moſt of its regulations are inapplicable to the condition and ſituation of the colonies in America. In countries where ſlavery is eſtabliſhed, the leading principle on which government is ſupported, is *fear*; or a ſenſe of that abſolute coercive neceſſity, which, leaving no choice of action, ſuperſedes all queſtion of *right*. It is in vain to deny that ſuch actually is, and neceſſarily muſt be, the caſe in all countries where ſlavery is allowed. Every endeavour therefore to extend poſitive rights to men in this ſtate, as between one claſs of people and the other, is an attempt to reconcile inherent contradictions, and to blend principles together which admit not of combination. The great and, I am afraid, the only certain and permanent ſecurity of the enſlaved negroes, is the ſtrong circumſtance that the intereſt of the maſter is blended with, and, in truth, altogether depends on, the preſervation, and even on the health, ſtrength, and activity of the ſlave. This applies equally to all the European colonies in America; and accordingly the actual condition of the negroes in all thoſe colonies, to whatever nation they belong, is I believe nearly the ſame. Of that condition I have given an account in another place (c): I have therefore only to obſerve in this, that in all the French iſlands the general treatment of the ſlaves is neither much better nor much worſe, as far as I could obſerve, than in thoſe of Great Britain. If any difference there is, I think that they are better clothed among the French, and allowed more animal food among the Engliſh. The prevalent notion that the French planters treat their negroes with greater humanity and tenderneſs than the Britiſh, I know to be groundleſs; yet no candid perſon, who has had an opportunity of ſeeing the negroes in the French iſlands, and of contraſting their condition with that of the peaſantry in many parts of Europe, will think them, by any means, the moſt wretched of mankind.

On the whole, if human life, in its beſt ſtate, is a combination of happineſs and miſery, and we are to conſider that condition of political ſociety as relatively good, in which, notwithſtanding many diſadvantages, the lower claſſes are eaſily ſupplied with the means of healthy ſubſiſtence; and a general air of cheerful contentedneſs, animates all ranks of people,—where we behold opulent towns, plentiful markets, extenſive commerce, and increaſing cultivation—it muſt be pronounced that the government of the French part of St. Domingo (to whatever latent cauſes it might be owing) was not altogether ſo practically bad, as ſome of the circumſtances that have been ſtated might give room to imagine. With all the abuſes ariſing from the licentiouſneſs of power, the corruption of manners, and the ſyſtem of ſlavery, the ſcale evidently preponderated on the favourable ſide; and, in ſpite of political evils and private grievances, the ſigns of publick proſperity were every where viſible.

(c) Vol. II. Book 4. C. 2.

Such were the condition and ſituation of the French colony in St. Domingo in the year 1788—an eventful period; for the ſeeds of liberty which, ever ſince the war between Great Britain and her tranſatlantick poſſeſſions, had taken root in the kingdom of France, now began to ſpring up with a rank luxuriancy in all parts of her extenſive dominions; and a thouſand circumſtances demonſtrated that great and important changes and convulſions were impending. The neceſſity of a ſober and well-digeſted arrangement for correcting inveterate abuſes, both in the mother country and the colonies, was indeed apparent; but, unhappily, a ſpirit of ſubverſion and innovation, founded on viſionary ſyſtems inapplicable to real life, had taken poſſeſſion of the publick mind. Its effects in St. Domingo are written in colours too laſting to be obliterated; for the pride of power, the rage of reformation, the contentions of party, and the conflict of oppoſing intereſts and paſſions, produced a tempeſt that ſwept every thing before it.

CHAP. II.

From the Revolution of 1789, *to the Meeting of the Firſt General Colonial Aſſembly.*

CHAP. II.

ON the 27th of December 1788, the court of France came to the memorable determination to ſummon the States General of the kingdom; and reſolved that the repreſentation of the *tiers état* (or commons) ſhould be equal to the ſum of the repreſentation of the other two orders.

THIS meaſure, as might have been foreſeen, proved the baſis of the great national revolution that followed; and it operated with immediate and deciſive effect in all the French colonies. The governor of the French part of St. Domingo, at that period, was Monſ. Duchilleau, who was ſuppoſed ſecretly to favour the popular pretenſions. He was allowed therefore to continue unmoleſted in the ſeat of government; but the king's ſceptre dropped from his hand; for when he attempted to prevent the parochial and provincial meetings, which were every where ſummoned, from aſſembling, his proclamations were treated with indignity and contempt: the meetings were held in ſpite of the governor, and reſolutions paſſed declaratory of the right of the coloniſts to ſend deputies to the States General. Deputies were accordingly elected for that purpoſe, to the number of eighteen (ſix for each province) who forthwith, without any authority either from the French miniſtry or the colonial government, embarked for France, as the legal repreſentatives of a great and integral part of the French empire.

1789. THEY arrived at Verſailles the latter end of June, about a month after the States General had declared themſelves the national aſſembly. But neither the miniſter nor the national aſſembly were diſpoſed to admit the full extent of their claims. The number of eighteen deputies from one colony was thought exceſſive; and it was with ſome difficulty that ſix of them only were admitted to verify their powers, and ſeat themſelves among the national repreſentatives.

THERE prevailed at this time throughout the cities of France, a very ſtrong and marked prejudice againſt the inhabitants of the Sugar Iſlands, on account of the ſlavery of their negroes. It was not indeed ſuppoſed, nor even pretended, that the condition of theſe people was worſe at this juncture than in any former period: the contrary was known to be the truth. But declamations in ſupport of perſonal freedom, and invectives againſt deſpotiſm of all kinds, had been the favourite topicks of many eminent French writers for a ſeries of years: and the publick indignation was now artfully raiſed againſt the planters of the Weſt Indies, as one of the means of exciting commotions and inſurrections in different parts of the French dominions. This ſpirit of hoſtility againſt the inhabitants of the French colonies, was induſtriouſly fomented and aggravated by the meaſures of a ſociety, who called themſelves *Amis des Noirs* (Friends of the Blacks); and it muſt be acknowledged, that the ſplendid appearance, and thoughtleſs extravagance, of many of the French planters reſident in the mother country, contributed by no means to divert the malice of their adverſaries, or to ſoften the prejudices of the publick towards them.

The ſociety in France called *Amis des Noirs*, was I believe originally formed on the model of a ſimilar aſſociation in London, but the views and purpoſes of the two bodies had taken a different direction. The ſociety in London *profeſſed* to have nothing more in view than to obtain an act of the legiſlature for prohibiting the further introduction of African ſlaves into the Britiſh colonies. They diſclaimed all intention of interfering with the government and condition of the negroes already in the plantations; publickly declaring their opinion to be, that a general emancipation of thoſe people, in their preſent ſtate of ignorance and barbarity, inſtead of a bleſſing, would prove to them a ſource of misfortune and miſery. On the other hand, the ſociety of *Amis des Noirs*, having ſecretly in view to ſubvert the ancient deſpotiſm of the French government, loudly clamoured for a general and immediate abolition, not only of the ſlave trade, but alſo of the ſlavery which it ſupported. Proceeding on abſtract reaſoning, rather than on the actual condition of human nature, they diſtinguiſhed not between civilized and uncivilized life, and conſidered that it ill became them to claim freedom for themſelves, and withhold it at the ſame time from the negroes: it is to be lamented that a principle ſo plauſible in appearance, ſhould, in its application to this caſe, be viſionary and impracticable.

At this juncture, a conſiderable body of the mulattoes from St. Domingo and the other French iſlands, were reſident in the French capital. Some of theſe were young people ſent thither for education: others were men of conſiderable property, and many of them, without doubt, perſons of intelligence and amiable manners. With theſe people the ſociety of *Amis des Noirs* formed an intimate connection; pointed out to them the wretchedneſs of their condition; filled the nation with remonſtrances and appeals on their behalf; and poured out ſuch invectives againſt the white planters, as bore away reaſon and moderation in the torrent. Unhappily, there was too much to offer on the part of the mulattoes. Their perſonal appearance too, excited pity, and, co-operating with the temper of the times, and the credulity of the French nation, raiſed ſuch an indignant ſpirit in all ranks of people againſt the white coloniſts, as threatened their total annihilation and ruin.

In this diſpoſition of the people of France towards the inhabitants of their colonies in the Weſt Indies, the national aſſembly, on the 20th day of Auguſt, voted the celebrated *declaration of rights*; and thus, by a revolution unparalleled in hiſtory, was a mighty fabrick (apparently eſtabliſhed by every thing that was ſecure and unaſſailable) overturned in a moment. Happy had it been for the general intereſts of the human race, if, when the French had gone thus far, they had proceeded no farther! Happy for themſelves, if they had then known—what painful experience has ſince taught them—that the worſt of all governments is preferable to the miſeries of anarchy!

Perhaps a diligent obſerver might have diſcovered, even in the firſt proceedings of this celebrated aſſembly, the latent ſeeds of that violence, injuſtice, and confuſion which have ſince produced ſuch a harveſt of crimes and calamities. Many of the doctrines contained in the declaration of rights ſeem to have been introduced for no other purpoſe than to awaken a miſchievous ſpirit of contention and cavil, and to deſtroy all ſubordination in the lower ranks of the people. Such, for inſtance, was the poſition, that "all men are born, and continue, "free and equal as to their rights;" according to which, there ought to be no diſtinctions in ſociety, nor (if the poſſeſſion of property is *a right)* can any man have a right to poſſeſs or acquire any thing to the excluſion of others; a poſition not only falſe, but pernicious, and unfit for every condition of civilized life. To promulgate ſuch leſſons in the colonies, as the declared ſenſe of the ſupreme government, was to ſubvert the whole ſyſtem of their eſtabliſhments. Accordingly, a general ferment prevailed among the French inhabitants of St. Domingo, from one end of the colony to the other. All that had paſſed in the mother country concerning the coloniſts,—the prejudices of the metropolis towards them,—the efforts of the ſociety of *Amis des Noirs* to emancipate the negroes,—and the conduct of the mulattoes,—had been repreſented to them through the medium of party, and perhaps with a thouſand circumſtances of exaggeration and inſult, long before the declaration of rights was received in the colony; and this meaſure crowned the whole. They maintained that it was calculated to convert their peaceful and contented negroes into implacable enemies, and render the whole country a theatre of commotion and bloodſhed.

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In the meanwhile, the French government, apprehenſive that diſorders of a very alarming nature might ariſe in the colonies from the proceedings in France, had iſſued orders to the governor general of St. Domingo, to convoke the inhabitants, for the purpoſe of forming a legiſlative aſſembly for interior regulation. Theſe orders, however, being unaccountably delayed, the people had anticipated the meaſure. The inhabitants of the Northern diſtrict had already conſtituted a provincial aſſembly, which met at Cape François, and their example was followed in November in the Weſtern and Southern provinces; the Weſtern aſſembly met at Port au Prince, the Southern at *Les Cayes.* Parochial committees were, at the ſame time, every where eſtabliſhed, for the ſake of a more immediate communication between the people and their repreſentatives.

A recital of the conduct and proceedings of theſe provincial aſſemblies, would lead me too much into detail. They differed greatly on many important queſtions; but all of them concurred in opinion concerning the neceſſity of a full and ſpeedy colonial repreſentation; and they unanimouſly voted, that if inſtructions from the king for calling ſuch an aſſembly ſhould not be received within three months thenceforward, the colony ſhould take on itſelf to adopt and enforce the meaſure;—their immediate ſafety and preſervation being, they ſaid, an obligation paramount to all others.

During this period of anxiety and alarm, the mulattoes were not inactive. Inſtructed by their brethren in the metropolis concerning the nature and extent of their rights, and apprized of the favourable diſpoſition of the French nation towards them, they became, throughout the colony, actuated by a ſpirit of turbulence and ſedition; and diſregarding all conſiderations of prudence, with regard to time and ſeaſons, determined to claim, without delay, the full benefit of all the privileges enjoyed by the whites. Accordingly large bodies of them appeared in arms in different parts of the country; but acting without ſufficient concert, or due preparation, they were eaſily overpowered. It is ſaid, that the temper of the provincial aſſemblies at this juncture,—how much ſoever inflamed againſt the inſtigators and abettors of theſe people in the mother country,—was not averſe to moderation and conceſſion towards the mulattoes themſelves. Thus, when the party which had taken arms at Jacmel was defeated, and their chiefs impriſoned, the aſſembly of the Weſt interpoſed with effect in favour of the whole number; and at Artibonite, where the revolt was much more extenſive and alarming, a free and unconditional pardon was alſo cheerfully granted on the ſubmiſſion of the inſurgents.

Against ſuch of the whites as had taken any part in theſe diſturbances, in favour of the people of colour, the rage of the populace knew no limits. Monſ. *Dubois*, deputy *procureur general*, had not only declared himſelf an advocate for the mulattoes, but, with a degree of imprudence which indicated inſanity, ſought occaſions to declaim publickly againſt the ſlavery of the negroes. The Northern aſſembly arreſted his perſon, and very probably intended to proceed to greater extremities; but the governor interpoſed in his behalf, obtained his releaſe, and ſent him from the country.

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MONS. *Ferrand de Beaudierre*, who had formerly been a magiſtrate at Petit Goave, was not ſo fortunate. This gentleman was unhappily enamoured of a woman of colour, to whom, as ſhe poſſeſſed a valuable plantation, he had offered marriage, and being a man of a warm imagination, with little judgment, he undertook to combat the prejudices of the whites againſt the whole claſs. He drew up, in the name and behalf of the mulatto people, a memorial to the parochial committee, wherein, among other things, they were made to claim, in expreſs words, the full benefit of the national declaration of rights. Nothing could be more ill-timed or injudicious than this proceeding: it was evident, that ſuch a claim led to conſequences of which the mulattoes themſelves (who certainly at this juncture had no wiſh to enfranchiſe the ſlaves) were not apprized. This memorial therefore was conſidered as a ſummons to the negroes for a general revolt. The parochial committee ſeized the author, and committed him to priſon; but the populace took him from thence by force, and in ſpite of the magiſtrates and municipality, who exerted themſelves to ſtop their fury, put him to death.

January 1790.

THE king's order for convoking a general colonial aſſembly was received in St. Domingo early in the month of January 1790. It appointed the town of Leogane, in the Weſtern province, for the place of meeting; and inſtructions accompanied the order, concerning the mode of electing the members. Theſe inſtructions, however, being conſidered by the provincial aſſemblies as inapplicable to the circumſtances of the colony, were diſapproved; and another plan, better ſuited, as they conceived, to the wealth, territory, and population of the inhabitants, was adopted. They reſolved alſo to hold the aſſembly at the town of St. Marc inſtead of Leogane, and the 25th of March was fixed for the time of its meeting. It was afterwards prorogued to the 16th of April.

In the meanwhile intelligence was received in France of the temper of St. Domingo towards the mother country. The inhabitants were very generally repreſented as manifeſting a diſpoſition either to renounce their dependency, or to throw themſelves under the protection of a foreign power; and the planters of Martinico were ſaid to be equally diſcontented and diſaffected. The trading and manufacturing towns took the alarm; and petitions and remonſtrances were preſented from various quarters, imploring the national aſſembly to adopt meaſures for compoſing the minds of the coloniſts, and preſerving to the French empire its moſt valuable dependencies.

On the 8th of March 1790, the national aſſembly entered into the conſideration of the ſubject, with a ſeriouſneſs and ſolemnity ſuited to its importance; and, after full diſcuſſion, a very large majority voted, "That it never was the intention of "the aſſembly to comprehend the interior government of the "colonies in the conſtitution which they had framed for the "mother country, or to ſubject them to laws which were in"compatible with their local eſtabliſhments; they therefore "authoriſe the inhabitants of each colony to ſignify to the na"tional aſſembly their ſentiments and wiſhes concerning that "plan of interior legiſlation and commercial arrangement, "which

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" which would be moſt conducive to their proſperity." It was required, however, that the plan to be offered ſhould be conformable to the principles which had connected the colonies with the metropolis, and be calculated for the preſervation of their reciprocal intereſts.—To this decree was annexed a declaration, " That the national aſſembly would not cauſe any " innovation to be made, directly or indirectly, in any ſyſtem of " commerce in which the colonies were already concerned."

NOTHING could equal the clamour which this decree occaſioned among the people of colour reſident in the mother country, and the philanthropick ſociety of *Amis des Noirs*. The declaration concerning commerce was interpreted into a tacit ſanction for the continuance of the ſlave trade; and it was even contended, that the national aſſembly, by leaving the adjuſtment of the colonial conſtitutions to the coloniſts themſelves, had diſcharged them from their allegiance. It was ſaid that they were no longer ſubject to the French empire, but members of an independent ſtate.

NEVERTHELESS, if the circumſtances of the times, and the diſpoſition of the French coloniſts at this juncture, be taken into the account, candour muſt acknowledge that it was a decree not only juſtifiable on the motives of prudence and policy, but was founded alſo on the ſtrong baſis of moral neceſſity. The arguments that were urged againſt it ſeem to imply that the benefits of the French revolution were intended only for the people reſiding in the realm, in excluſion of their fellow ſubjects in the plantations. After that great event, to ſuppoſe that the inhabitants of thoſe colonies (with the ſucceſsful example too of the Engliſh Americans recent in their memories) would have ſubmitted to be governed and directed in their local concerns by a legiſlature at the diſtance of 3,000 miles from them, is to manifeſt a very ſlender acquaintance with human nature. How little inclined the colonial aſſembly was to ſuch ſubmiſſion, their proceedings, from the firſt day of their meeting, to their final diſſolution, will demonſtrate.—Of thoſe proceedings I ſhall endeavour to furniſh a brief account in the next Chapter.

CHAP. III.

Proceedings of the General Colonial Aſſembly until its final Diſſolution, and Embarkation of the Members for France, Auguſt 1790.

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THE General Aſſembly of St. Domingo met on the 16th of April, at the town of St. Marc. It was compoſed of 213 members, of whom the city of Cape François elected twenty-four, Port au Prince ſixteen, and Les Cayes eight. Moſt of the other pariſhes returned two repreſentatives each; and it is allowed that, on the whole, the colony was fairly, fully, and moſt reſpectably repreſented. The provincial aſſemblies, however, continued in the exerciſe of their functions as before, or appointed committees to act during their intermiſſion.

THE ſeſſion was opened by a diſcourſe from the preſident, wherein, after recounting various abuſes in the conſtitution and adminiſtration of the former colonial government, he pointed out ſome of the many great objects that ſeemed to require immediate attention: among others, he recommended the caſe of the mulattoes, and a melioration of the ſlave laws. The aſſembly concurred in ſentiment with the orator; and one of their firſt meaſures was to relieve the people of colour from the hardſhips to which they were ſubject under the military juriſdiction. It was decreed, that in future no greater duty ſhould be required of them in the militia than from the whites; and the harſh authority,

thority, in particular, which the king's lieutenants, majors, and aides-major, commanding in the towns, exerciſed over thoſe people, was declared oppreſſive and illegal. Theſe acts of indulgence were certainly meant as the earneſt of greater favours, and an opening to conciliation and conceſſion towards the whole claſs of the coloured people.

THE general aſſembly proceeded, in the next place, to rectify ſome groſs abuſes which had long prevailed in the courts of judicature, confining themſelves however to ſuch only as called for immediate redreſs, their attention being chiefly directed to the great and intereſting object of preparing the plan for a new conſtitution, or ſyſtem of colonial government; a buſineſs which employed their deliberations until the 28th of May.

M. PEYNIER was now governor-general, from whom the partizans and adherents of the ancient deſpotiſm ſecretly derived encouragement and ſupport. The whole body of tax-gatherers, and officers under the fiſcal adminiſtration, were of this number. Theſe therefore began to recover from the panick into which ſo great and ſudden a revolution had thrown them, and to rally their united ſtrength. Nothing could be more oppoſite to their wiſhes, than the ſucceſs of the general aſſembly in the eſtabliſhment of order and good government throughout the colony. Nor were theſe the only men who beheld the proceedings of this body with an evil eye. All the perſons belonging to the courts of civil and criminal juriſdiction (and their numbers were conſiderable) who were intereſted in the maintenance of thoſe abuſes which the aſſembly had corrected, were filled with indignation and envy. To theſe were added moſt of the men who had held military commiſſions under the king's authority. Habituated to the exerciſe of command, they indignantly beheld the ſubverſion of all that accuſtomed obedience and ſubordination which they had been taught to conſider as eſſential to the ſupport of government, and offered themſelves the willing inſtruments of the governor-general in ſubverting the new ſyſtem.

Such were the perſons that oppoſed themſelves to the new order of things in the colony, when the Chevalier Mauduit, colonel of the regiment of Port au Prince, arrived at St. Domingo. He had not come directly from France, but circuitouſly by way of Italy; and at Turin had taken leave of the Count d'Artois, to whoſe fortunes he was ſtrongly attached. He was a man of talents; brave, active, and enterprizing; zealous for his party, and full of projects for a counter-revolution. By his dexterity and addreſs, he ſoon acquired an aſcendancy over the feeble and narrow genius of Peynier, and governed the colony in his name. His penetration eaſily made him diſcover that, in order effectually to diſturb the new ſettlement, it was abſolutely neceſſary to prevent a coalition of intereſts between the colonial aſſembly, and the free people of colour. He therefore proclaimed himſelf the patron and protector of the mulattoes, and courted them on all occaſions, with ſuch aſſiduity and ſucceſs, as gained over the whole body.

It ſeems however extremely probable that the peace of the country would have been preſerved, notwithſtanding the machinations of Peynier and Mauduit, if the planters, true to their

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own cauſe, had remained united among themſelves. But, unfortunately, the provincial aſſembly of the North was induced, through miſrepreſentation or envy, to counteract, by all poſſible means, the proceedings of the general aſſembly at St. Marc. Thus, diſcord and diſſenſion every where prevailed; and appearances ſeemed to indicate an approaching civil war, even before the plan for the new conſtitution was publiſhed. This was contained in the famous decree of the general colonial aſſembly of the 28th of May; a decree, which having been the ſubject of much animadverſion, and made the oſtenſible motive, on the part of the executive power, for commencing hoſtilities, it is proper to ſtate it at large.

May. It conſiſted of ten fundamental poſitions, which are preceded by an introductory diſcourſe or preamble (as uſual in the French decrees) wherein, among other conſiderations, it is ſtated, as an acknowledged principle in the French conſtitution, that the right in the crown to confirm the acts of the legiſlature, is a prerogative, inherent and *incommunicable:* of courſe that it cannot be delegated to a colonial governor, whoſe authority is precarious and ſubordinate. The articles are then ſubjoined, in the order and words following:

" 1. The legiſlative authority, in every thing which relates to the internal concerns of the colony *(regime interieur)*, is veſted in the aſſembly of its repreſentatives, which ſhall be called *the General Aſſembly of the French Part of St. Domingo.*

" 2. No act of the legiſlative body, in what relates to the internal concerns of the colony, ſhall be conſidered *as a law de-*

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finitive, unleſs it be made by the repreſentatives of the French part of St. Domingo, freely and legally choſen, and confirmed by the king.

"3. In caſes of urgent neceſſity, a legiſlative decree of the general aſſembly, in what relates to the internal concerns of the colony, ſhall be conſidered as a *law proviſional*. In all ſuch caſes, the decree ſhall be notified forthwith to the governor-general, who, within ten days after ſuch notification, ſhall cauſe it to be publiſhed and enforced, or tranſmit to the general aſſembly his obſervations thereon.

"4. The neceſſity of the caſe on which the execution of ſuch proviſional decree is to depend, ſhall be a ſeparate queſtion, and be carried in the affirmative by a majority of two-thirds of the general aſſembly; the names and numbers being taken down. *(Priſes par l'appel nominal.)*

"5. If the governor-general ſhall ſend down his obſervations on any ſuch decree, the ſame ſhall be entered in the journals of the general aſſembly, who ſhall then proceed to reviſe the decree, and conſider the obſervations thereon in three ſeveral ſittings. The votes for confirming or annulling the decree ſhall be given in the words *Yes* or *No*, and a minute of the proceedings ſhall be ſigned by the members preſent, in which ſhall be enumerated the votes on each ſide of the queſtion; and if there appears a majority of two-thirds for confirming the decree, it ſhall be immediately enforced by the governor-general.

"6. As every law ought to be founded on the conſent of thoſe who are to be bound by it, the French part of St. Domingo ſhall be allowed to propoſe regulations concerning commercial arrangements, and the ſyſtem of mutual connection *(rapports commerciaux, et autres rapports communs)*, and the decrees which the national aſſembly ſhall make in all ſuch caſes *ſhall not be enforced in the colony, until the general aſſembly ſhall have conſented thereto.*

"7. In caſes of preſſing neceſſity, the importation of articles for the ſupport of the inhabitants ſhall not be conſidered as any breach in the ſyſtem of commercial regulations between St. Domingo and France; provided that the decrees to be made in ſuch caſes by the general aſſembly, ſhall be ſubmitted to the reviſion of the governor-general, under the ſame conditions and modifications as are preſcribed in articles 3 and 5.

"8. Provided alſo, that every legiſlative act of the general aſſembly, executed proviſionally, in caſes of urgent neceſſity, ſhall be tranſmitted forthwith for the royal ſanction. And if the king ſhall refuſe his conſent to any ſuch act, its execution ſhall be ſuſpended, as ſoon as the king's refuſal ſhall be legally notified to the general aſſembly.

"9. A new general aſſembly ſhall be choſen every two years, and none of the members who have ſerved in the former aſſembly ſhall be eligible in the new one.

"10. The general aſſembly decree that the preceding articles, as forming part of the conſtitution of the French colony in St.

Domingo, ſhall be immediately tranſmitted to France for the acceptance of the national aſſembly, and the king. They ſhall likewiſe be tranſmitted to all the pariſhes and diſtricts of the colony, and be notified to the governor-general."

That a decree of ſuch comprehenſiveneſs and magnitude ſhould have excited very general diſquiſition in the colony, and have produced miſrepreſentation and clamour, even among men of very oppoſite ſentiments and tempers, is no way ſurpriſing. It muſt be allowed, that ſome of the articles are irreconcileable to every juſt principle of colonial ſubordination. The refuſing to allow a negative voice to the repreſentative of the king, is repugnant to all the notions which an Engliſhman is taught to entertain of a monarchical government, however limited: and the declaration that no decree of the national aſſembly concerning the colony, in caſes of exterior regulation, ſhould be in force until confirmed by the colonial aſſembly, was ſuch an extravagant aſſumption of imperial authority, in a ſubordinate part of the French empire, as I believe is without a precedent.

All that can be urged in extenuation, ſeems to be that the circumſtances of the caſe were novel, and the members of the colonial aſſembly unexperienced in the buſineſs of legiſlation. That they had any ſerious intention of declaring the colony an independent ſtate, in imitation of the Engliſh American provinces, it is impoſſible to believe. Nevertheleſs, the decree was no ſooner promulgated, than this notion was induſtriouſly propagated by their enemies from one end of the colony to the other; and when this report failed to gain belief, it was pretended that the colony was ſold to the Engliſh, and that the members of the general aſſembly had received and divided among themſelves 40 millions of livres as the purchaſe money.

If recent events had not demonſtrated the extreme credulity and jealous temper of the French character, it would be difficult to believe that charges, thus wild and unſupported, could have made an impreſſion on the minds of any conſiderable number of the people. So great however was the effect produced by them, as to occaſion ſome of the Weſtern pariſhes to recal their deputies; while the inhabitants of Cape François took meaſures ſtill more deciſive: they renounced obedience to the general aſſembly, and preſented a memorial to the governor, requeſting him to diſſolve it forthwith; declaring that they conſidered the colony as loſt, unleſs he proceeded with the utmoſt vigour and promptitude in depriving that body of all manner of authority.

M. Peynier received this addreſs with ſecret ſatisfaction. It ſeemed indeed to be the policy of both parties to reject all thoughts of compromiſe by negociation; and there occurred at this juncture a circumſtance which would probably have rendered all negociation abortive, had it been attempted. In the harbour of Port au Prince lay a ſhip of the line, called the Leopard, commanded by M. Galiſoniere. This officer, cooperating in the views of Peynier and Mauduit, made a ſumptuous entertainment for the partizans of thoſe gentlemen; and

CHAP. III. 1790. by this, or ſome other parts of his conduct, gave offence to his ſailors. Whether theſe men had felt the influence of corruption (as aſſerted by one party) or were actuated ſolely by one of thoſe unaccountable freaks to which ſeamen are particularly ſubject, the fact certainly is, that they withdrew their obedience from their proper officer, and declared themſelves to be in the intereſts of the colonial aſſembly! Their conduct became at length ſo turbulent and ſeditious, as to induce M. Galiſoniere to quit the ſhip; whereupon the crew gave the command to one of the lieutenants. The aſſembly, perceiving the advantages to be derived from this event, immediately tranſmitted a vote of thanks to the ſeamen for their patriotick conduct, and required them, in the name of the law and the king, to detain the ſhip in the road, and await their further orders. The ſailors, gratified with this acknowledgment, promiſed obedience, and affixed the vote of thanks on the mainmaſt of the ſhip. Some partizans of the aſſembly, about the ſame time, took poſſeſſion of a powder magazine at Leogane. 27th July.

A CIVIL war ſeemed now to be inevitable. Two days after the vote of thanks had been tranſmitted from St. Marc's to the crew of the Leopard, M. Peynier iſſued a proclamation to diſſolve the general aſſembly. He charged the members with entertaining projects of independency, and aſſerted that they had treacherouſly poſſeſſed themſelves of one of the king's ſhips by corrupting the crew. He pronounced the members, and all their adherents, traitors to their country, and enemies to the nation and the king: declaring that it was his intention to employ all the force he could collect to defeat their projects, and bring them to condign puniſhment; and he called on all officers, civil and military, for their co-operation and ſupport.

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His firſt proceedings were directed againſt the committee of the Weſtern provincial aſſembly.—This body held its meetings at Port au Prince, and in the exerciſe of its ſubordinate functions, during the intermiſſion of that aſſembly, had manifeſted ſuch zealous attachment to the general aſſembly at St. Marc, as expoſed its members to the reſentment of the governor and his party. It was determined therefore, at a council held the ſame day, to arreſt their perſons the following night, and M. Mauduit undertook to conduct the enterprize. Having been informed that this committee held conſultations at midnight, he ſelected about one hundred of his ſoldiers, and formed a ſcheme to ſeize the members at their place of meeting. On arriving however at the houſe, he found it protected by four hundred of the national guards (g). A ſkirmiſh enſued; but the circumſtances attending it are ſo variouſly related, that no preciſe account can be given of the particulars; nor is it aſcertained which party gave the firſt fire. Nothing further is certainly known, than that two men were killed on the part of the aſſembly,—that ſeveral were wounded on both ſides, and that M. Mauduit returned without effecting any purpoſe but that of ſeizing, and bearing away in triumph, the national colours;—a circumſtance which afterwards (as will be ſeen in the ſequel) coſt him his life.

(g) The troops in St. Domingo, called *the National Guards*, were originally nothing more than the colonial Militia. They were new organized in 1789, on the model of the national guards in the mother-country, and bore the ſame colours, and aſſumed the ſame name.

The general aſſembly, on receiving intelligence of this attack, and of the formidable preparations that were making for directing hoſtilities againſt themſelves, ſummoned the people, from all parts of the colony, to haſten, properly armed, to protect their repreſentatives; and moſt of the inhabitants of the neighbouring pariſhes obeyed the ſummons. The ſhip Leopard was brought from Port au Prince to St. Marc's for the ſame purpoſe. On the other hand, the Northern provincial aſſembly joined the party of the governor, and ſent to his aſſiſtance a detachment from the regular troops in that quarter, which was joined by a body of two hundred people of colour. A much greater force was collected at the ſame time in the Weſtern province by M. Mauduit, and the preparations on both ſides threatened an obſtinate and bloody conflict; when, by one of thoſe wonderful eccentricities in the human mind which are ſeldom diſplayed except in times of publick commotion, a ſtop was put to the immediate ſhedding of blood, by the ſudden and unexpected determination of the general aſſembly to undertake a voyage to France, and juſtify their conduct to the king and the national aſſembly in perſon. Their motives were thought the more laudable, as great part of the Weſtern and Southern provinces gave a decided approbation of their conduct, and armed in a very ſhort time two thouſand men in their defence; which were in full march for Port au Prince. Their reſolution however was fixed, and accordingly, of about one hundred members, to which the colonial aſſembly was reduced by ſickneſs and deſertion, no leſs than eighty-five (of whom ſixty-four were fathers of families) actually embarked on board the Leopard, and on the 8th of Auguſt, took their departure for Europe:—a proceeding which created as much ſurprize in the governor and his party, as admiration and applauſe among the people at large. Perſons of all ranks accompanied the members to the place of embarkation, pouring forth prayers for their ſucceſs, and ſhedding tears of ſenſibility and affection for a conduct which was very generally conſidered as noble a proof of ſelf-denial, and as ſignal an inſtance of heroick virtue and chriſtian forbearance as any age has exhibited. A momentary calm followed this event:—the parties in arms appeared mutually diſpoſed to ſubmit their differences to the wiſdom and juſtice of the king and the national aſſembly, and M. Peynier reſumed, though with a trembling hand, the reins of government.

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SUCH was the iſſue of the firſt attempt to eſtabliſh a free conſtitution in the French part of St. Domingo, on the ſyſtem of a limited monarchy; and it affords occaſion for ſome important reflections. That the general colonial aſſembly, in their decree of the 28th of May, exceeded the proper boundary of their conſtitutional functions, has been frankly admitted. This irregularity, however, might have been corrected without bloodſhed or violence; but there is this misfortune attending every deviation from the rule of right, that, in the conflict of contending factions, the exceſſes of one party are ever conſidered as the fulleſt juſtification for the outrages of the other. For ſome parts of their conduct an apology may be offered. The

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meaſure of ſecuring to their intereſts the crew of the Leopard, and the ſeizure of the magazine at Leogane, may be vindicated on the plea of ſelf-defence. It cannot be doubted that M. Peynier had long meditated how beſt to reſtore the ancient deſpotick ſyſtem, and that, jointly with M. Mauduit and others, he had made preparations for that purpoſe. He had written to M. Luzerne, the miniſter in France, that he never intended to ſuffer the colonial aſſembly to meet; and let it be told in this place, in juſtice to the French miniſtry, that the anſwer which he received contained a tacit diſapprobation of his meaſures; for M. Luzerne recommended moderate and conciliatory councils. The governor proceeded notwithſtanding in the ſame career, and diſtruſtful perhaps of the fidelity of the French ſoldiers, he made application (as appeared afterward) to the governor of the Havannah for a reinforcement of Spaniſh troops from Cuba. It is evident therefore that he concurred entirely in the plans of Mauduit for effectuating a counter-revolution; and hence it is reaſonable to conclude, that the diſcord and diſtruſt which prevailed among the inhabitants; and above all, the fatal diſſentions that alienated the provincial aſſembly of the North, from the general aſſembly at St. Marc's, were induſtriouſly fomented and encouraged by M. Peynier and his adherents. Concerning the members of the colonial aſſembly, their prompt and deciſive determination to repair to France, and ſurrender their perſons to the ſupreme government, obviates all impeachment of their loyalty. Their attachment to the mother-country was indeed ſecured by too many ties of intereſt and ſelf-preſervation to be doubted.

Of their reception by the national aſſembly, and the proceedings adopted in conſequence of their arrival in Europe, I ſhall hereafter have occaſion to ſpeak. A pauſe in this place ſeems requiſite ;—for I have now to introduce to the reader the mournful hiſtory of an unfortunate individual, over whoſe ſad fate (however we may condemn his raſh and ill-concerted enterprize)

> " One human tear may drop, and be forgiven !"

CHAP. IV.

Rebellion and Defeat of James Ogé, a free Man of Colour.

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FROM the firſt meeting of the general aſſembly of St. Domingo, to its diſſolution and diſperſion, as related in the preceding chapters, the coloured people reſident within the colony remained on the whole more peaceable and orderly than might have been expected. The temperate and lenient diſpoſition manifeſted by the aſſembly towards them, produced a beneficial and deciſive effect in the Weſtern and Southern provinces, and although 300 of them from theſe provinces, had been perſuaded by M. Mauduit to join the force under his command, they very ſoon became ſenſible of their error, and, inſtead of marching towards St. Marc, as Mauduit propoſed, they demanded and obtained their diſmiſſion, and returned quietly to their reſpective habitations. Such of the mulatto people however as reſided at that juncture in the mother-country, continued in a far more hoſtile diſpoſition; and they were encouraged in their animoſity towards the white coloniſts by parties of very different deſcriptions. The colonial decree of the 28th of May, 1790, was no ſooner made known in France, than it excited univerſal clamour. Many perſons who concurred in nothing elſe, united their voices in reprobating the conduct of the inhabitants of St. Domingo. The adherents of the ancient government were joined on this occaſion by the

partizans

1790.

partizans of democracy and republicaniſm. To the latter, the conſtitution of 1789 was even more odious than the old tyranny; and theſe men, with the deepeſt and darkeſt deſigns, poſſeſſed all that union, firmneſs, and perſeverance, which were neceſſary to their purpoſes; and which, as the world has beheld, have ſince rendered them irreſiſtible. Theſe two factious hoped to obtain very different ends, by the ſame means; and there was another party who exerted themſelves with equal aſſiduity in promoting publick confuſion: theſe were the diſcordant claſs of ſpeculative reformers, whom it was impoſſible to reconcile to the new government, becauſe every man among them had probably formed a favourite ſyſtem in his own imagination which he was eager to recommend to others. I do not conſider the philanthropick ſociety, called *Amis des Noirs*, as another diſtinct body, becauſe it appears to me that they were pretty equally divided between the democratick party, and the claſs laſt mentioned. Strengthened by ſuch auxiliaries, it is not ſurprizing that the efforts of this ſociety ſhould have operated powerfully on the minds of thoſe who were taught to conſider their perſonal wrongs as the cauſe of the nation, and have driven ſome of them into the wildeſt exceſſes of fanaticiſm and fury.

Among ſuch of theſe unfortunate people reſident in France as were thus inflamed into madneſs, was a young man under thirty years of age, named *James Ogé:* he was born in St. Domingo, of a mulatto woman who ſtill poſſeſſed a coffee plantation in the Northern province, about thirty miles from Cape François, whereon ſhe lived very creditably, and found means out of its profits to educate her ſon at Paris, and even to

ſupport

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ſupport him there in ſome degree of affluence, after he had obtained the age of manhood. His reputed father, a white planter of ſome account, had been dead ſeveral years.

Ogé had been introduced to the meetings of the *Amis des Noirs*, under the patronage of Gregoire, Briſſot *(h)*, La Fayette, and Robeſpierre *(i)*, the leading members of that ſociety; and was by them initiated into the popular doctrine of *equality*, and *the rights of man*. Here it was that he firſt learnt the miſeries of his condition; the cruel wrongs and contumelies to which he and all his mulatto brethren were expoſed in the Weſt Indies, and the monſtrous injuſtice and abſurdity of that prejudice, " which, (ſaid Gregoire) eſtimating a man's merit by " the colour of his ſkin, has placed at an immenſe diſtance from " each other the children of the ſame parent; a prejudice which " ſtifles the voice of nature, and breaks the bands of fraternity " aſunder."

That theſe are great evils muſt be frankly admitted, and it would have been fortunate if ſuch men as Briſſot and Gregoire, inſtead of bewailing their exiſtence and magnifying their extent, had applied their talents in conſidering of the beſt practicable means of redreſſing them.

But theſe perſons had other objects in view:—their aim, as I have ſhewn, was not to reform, but to deſtroy; to excite convulſions in every part of the French empire; and the ill-fated

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(h) Guillotined 31 October, 1793.

(i) Guillotined 28 July, 1794.

fated Ogé became the tool, and was afterwards the victim, of their guilty ambition.

He had been led to believe, that the whole body of coloured people in the French iſlands were prepared to riſe up as one man againſt their oppreſſors; that nothing but a diſcreet leader was wanting, to ſet them into action; and, fondly conceiving that he poſſeſſed in his own perſon all the qualities of an able general, he determined to proceed to St. Domingo by the firſt opportunity. To cheriſh the conceit of his own importance, and animate his exertions, the ſociety procured him the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army of one of the German electors.

As it was found difficult to export a ſufficient quantity of arms and ammunition from France, without attracting the notice of the government, and awakening ſuſpicion among the planters reſident in the mother-country, the ſociety reſolved to procure thoſe articles in North America, and it was recommended to Ogé to make a circuitous voyage for that purpoſe. Accordingly, being furniſhed with money and letters of credit, he embarked for New England in the month of July 1790.

But, notwithſtanding the caution that was obſerved in this inſtance, the whole project was publickly known at Paris previous to Ogé's embarkation; and notice of the ſcheme, and even a portrait of Ogé himſelf, were tranſmitted to St. Domingo, long before his arrival in that iſland. He ſecretly landed there, from an American ſloop, on the 12th of Octo-

1790.

ber 1790, and found means to convey undiſcovered the arms and ammunition which he had purchaſed, to the place which his brother had prepared for their reception.

The firſt notice which the white inhabitants received of Ogé's arrival, was from himſelf. He diſpatched a letter to the governor (Peynier) wherein, after reproaching the governor and his predeceſſors with the non-execution of the *Code Noir*, he demands, in very imperious terms, that the proviſions of that celebrated ſtatute ſhould be enforced throughout the colony; he requires that the privileges enjoyed by one claſs of inhabitants (the whites) ſhould be extended to all perſons without diſtinction: declares himſelf the protector of the mulattoes, and announces his intention of taking up arms in their behalf, unleſs their wrongs ſhould be redreſſed.

About ſix weeks had intervened between the landing of Ogé, and the publication of this mandate; in all which time he and his two brothers had exerted themſelves to the utmoſt in ſpreading diſaffection, and exciting revolt among the mulattoes. Aſſurances were held forth, that all the inhabitants of the mother-country were diſpoſed to aſſiſt them in the recovery of their rights, and it was added, that the king himſelf was favourably inclined to their cauſe. Promiſes were diſtributed to ſome, and money to others. But, notwithſtanding all theſe efforts, and that the temper of the times was favourable to his views, Ogé was not able to allure to his ſtandard above 200 followers; and of theſe, the major part were raw and ignorant youths, unuſed to diſcipline, and averſe to all manner of ſubordination and order.

He eſtabliſhed his camp at a place called *Grande Riviere*, about fifteen miles from Cape François, and appointed his two brothers, together with one Mark Chavane, his lieutenants. Chavane was fierce, intrepid, active, and enterprizing; prone to miſchief, and thirſty for vengeance. Ogé himſelf, with all his enthuſiaſm, was naturally mild and humane: he cautioned his followers againſt the ſhedding innocent blood; but little regard was paid to his wiſhes in this reſpect: the firſt white man that fell in their way they murdered on the ſpot: a ſecond, of the name of Sicard, met the ſame fate; and it is related, that their cruelty towards ſuch perſons of their own complexion as refuſed to join in the revolt was extreme. A mulatto man of ſome property being urged to follow them, pointed to his wife and ſix children, aſſigning the largeneſs of his family as a motive for wiſhing to remain quiet. This conduct was conſidered as contumacious, and it is aſſerted, that not only the man himſelf, but the whole of his family, were maſſacred without mercy.

Intelligence was no ſooner received at the town of Cape François of theſe enormities, than the inhabitants proceeded, with the utmoſt vigour and unanimity, to adopt meaſures for ſuppreſſing the revolt. A body of regular troops, and the Cape regiment of militia, were forthwith diſpatched for that purpoſe. They ſoon inveſted the camp of the revolters, who made leſs reſiſtance than might have been expected from men in their deſperate circumſtances. The rout became general; many of them were killed, and about ſixty made priſoners; the reſt diſperſed themſelves in the mountains. Ogé himſelf, one of his brothers, and Chavane his aſſociate, took refuge in the

CHAP. IV. 1790. the Spaniſh territories. Of Ogé's other brother no intelligence was ever afterwards obtained.

After this unſucceſsful attempt of Ogé, and his eſcape from juſtice, the diſpoſition of the white inhabitants in general towards the mulattoes, was ſharpened into great animoſity. The lower claſſes in particular, (thoſe whom the coloured people call *les petits blancs)* breathed nothing but vengeance againſt them; and very ſerious apprehenſions were entertained, in all parts of the colony, of a proſcription and maſſacre of the whole body.

Alarmed by reports of this kind, and the appearances which threatened them from all quarters, the mullatoes flew to arms in many places. They formed camps at Artibonite, Petit Goaves, Jeremie, and Les Cayes. But the largeſt and moſt formidable body aſſembled near the little town of *Verette*. The white inhabitants collected themſelves in conſiderable force in the neighbourhood, and Colonel Mauduit, with a corps of two hundred men from the regiment of Port au Prince, haſtened to their aſſiſtance; but neither party proceeded to actual hoſtility. M. Mauduit even left his detachment at the port of St. Marc, thirty-ſix miles from Verette, and proceeding ſingly and unattended to the camp of the mulattoes, had a conference with their leaders. What paſſed on that occaſion was never publickly divulged. It is certain, that the mulattoes retired to their habitations in conſequence of it; but the ſilence and ſecrecy of M. Mauduit, and his influence over them, gave occaſion to very unfavourable ſuſpicions, by no means tending to conciliate the different claſſes of the inhabitants to each other. He was charged with having traiterouſly perſuaded them not to deſiſt from their purpoſe, but only to poſtpone their vengeance to a more favourable opportunity; aſſuring them, with the utmoſt ſolemnity and apparent ſincerity, that the king himſelf, and all the friends of the ancient government, were ſecretly attached to their cauſe, and would avow and ſupport it whenever they could do it with advantage; and that the time was not far diſtant, &c. He is ſaid to have purſued the ſame line of conduct at Jeremie, Les Cayes, and all the places which he viſited. Every where he held ſecret conſultations with the chiefs of the mulattoes, and thoſe people every where immediately diſperſed. At Les Cayes, a ſkirmiſh had happened before his arrival there, in which about fifty perſons on both ſides had loſt their lives, and preparations were making to renew hoſtilities. The perſuaſions of M. Mauduit effected a truce; but Rigaud, the leader of the mulattoes in that quarter, openly declared that it was a tranſient and deceitful calm, and that no peace would be permanent, until one claſs of people had exterminated the other.

In November 1790, M. Peynier reſigned the government to the lieutenant-general, and embarked for Europe;—a circumſtance which proved highly pleaſing to the major part of the planters:—and the firſt meaſure of M. Blanchelande *(k)*, the new commander in chief, was conſidered as the earneſt of a deciſive and vigorous adminiſtration. He made a peremptory demand of Ogé and his aſſociates from the Spaniards; and the manner in which it was enforced, induced an immediate compliance

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(*k*) Guillotined at Paris, 1793.

1790. pliance therewith. The wretched Ogé and his companions in miſery, were delivered over, the latter end of December, to a detachment of French troops, and ſafely lodged in the jail of Cape François, with the priſoners formerly taken: and a commiſſion was ſoon afterwards iſſued to bring them to trial.

1791. THEIR examinations were long and frequent; and in the beginning of March 1791, ſentence was pronounced. Twenty of Ogé's deluded followers, among them his own brother, were condemned to be hanged. To Ogé himſelf, and his lieutenant Chavane, a more terrible puniſhment was allotted:—they were adjudged to be broken alive, and left to periſh in that dreadful ſituation, on the wheel.

THE bold and hardened Chavane met his fate with unuſual firmneſs, and ſuffered not a groan to eſcape him during the extremity of his torture: but the fortitude of Ogé deſerted him altogether. When ſentence was pronounced, he implored mercy with many tears, and an abject ſpirit. He promiſed to make great diſcoveries if his life was ſpared, declaring that he had an important ſecret to communicate. A reſpite of twenty-four hours was accordingly granted; but it was not made known to the publick, at that time, that he divulged any thing of importance. His ſecret, if any he had, was believed to have died with him.

IT was diſcovered, however, about nine months afterward, that this moſt unfortunate young man had not only made a full confeſſion of the facts that I have related, but alſo diſcloſed the dreadful plot in agitation, and the miſeries at that moment impending over the colony. His laſt ſolemn declarations and dying confeſſion, ſworn to and ſigned by himſelf the day before his execution, were actually produced; wherein he details at large the meaſures which the coloured people had fallen upon to excite the negro ſlaves to riſe into rebellion. He points out the chiefs by name, and relates that, notwithſtanding his own defeat, a general revolt would actually have taken place in the month of February preceding, if an extraordinary flood of rain, and conſequent inundation from the rivers, had not prevented it. He declares that the ringleaders ſtill maintained the ſame atrocious project, and held their meetings in certain ſubterranean paſſages, or caves, in the pariſh of La Grande Riviere, to which he offers, if his life might be ſpared, to conduct a body of troops, ſo that the conſpirators might be ſecured.

The perſons before whom this confeſſion and narrative were made, were the commiſſioners appointed for the purpoſe of taking Ogé's examination, by the ſuperior council of the Northern province, of which body they were alſo members *(l)*. Whether this court (all the members of which were devotedly attached to the ancient ſyſtem) determined of itſelf to ſuppreſs evidence of ſuch great concern to the colony, or was directed on this occaſion by the ſuperior officers in the adminiſtration of the government, has never been clearly made known. Suppreſſed it certainly was, and the miſerable Ogé hurried to

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(l) Their names were Antoine Etienne Ruotte, and François Joſeph de Vertierres.

immediate execution; ſeemingly to prevent the further communication, and full diſcloſure of ſo weighty a ſecret!

CHRISTIAN charity might lead us to ſuppoſe that the commiſſioners by whom Ogé's examination was taken, diſregarded and neglected (rather than ſuppreſſed) his information; conſidering it merely as the ſhallow artifice of a miſerable man to obtain a mitigation of the dreadful puniſhment which awaited him, and utterly unworthy of credit. It does not appear, however, that the commiſſioners made this excuſe for themſelves; and the caution, circumſpection, and ſecrecy which marked their conduct, leave no room for ſuch a ſuppoſition. The planters at large ſcrupled not to declare, that the royaliſts in the colony, and the philanthropick and republican party in the mother-country, were equally criminal; and themſelves made victims to the blind purpoſes, and unwarrantable paſſions, of two deſperate and malignant factions.

OF men who openly and avowedly aimed at the ſubverſion of all good order and ſubordination, we may eaſily credit the worſt; but it will be difficult to point out any principle of rational policy by which the royaliſts could have been influenced to concur in the ruin of ſo noble and beautiful a part of the French empire. Their conduct therefore remains wholly inexplicable, or we muſt admit they were guided by a ſpirit of Machiavelian policy—a principle of refined cunning, which always defeats its own purpoſe. They muſt have encouraged the vain and fallacious idea that ſcenes of bloodſhed, devaſtation, and ruin, in different parts of the French dominions,

minions, would induce the great body of the people to look back with regret to their former government, and lead them by degrees to co-operate in the ſcheme of effecting a counter-revolution; regarding the evils of anarchy, as leſs tolerable than the dead repoſe of deſpotiſm. If ſuch were their motives, we can only aſcribe them to that infatuation with which Providence (as wiſe men have obſerved, and hiſtory evinces) *blinds a people devoted to deſtruction.*

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CHAP. V.

Proceedings in France—Maſſacre of Colonel Mauduit in St. Domingo—and fatal Decree of the National Aſſembly of the 15th May 1791.

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IN detailing the tragical ſtory of the miſerable Ogé, I have choſen to continue my narrative unbroken: but it is now time to call the reader homewards, and direct his attention to the meaſures adopted by the national aſſembly, in conſequence of advices received from all parts of St. Domingo, concerning the proceedings of the colonial aſſembly which met at St. Marc's.

THE eighty-five members, whoſe embarkation for France has already been noticed, arrived at Breſt on the 13th of September 1790. They were received on landing by all ranks of people, and even by men in authority, with congratulation and ſhouts of applauſe. The ſame honours were ſhewn to them as would have been paid to the national aſſembly. Their expences were defrayed, and ſums of money raiſed for their future occaſions by a voluntary and very general ſubſcription; but theſe teſtimonies of reſpect and kindneſs ſerved only to encreaſe the diſappointment which they ſoon afterwards experienced in the capital; where a very different reception awaited them. They had the mortification to diſcover that their enemies had been beforehand with them. Deputies were already arrived from the

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the provincial aſſembly of the North, who joining with the agents of Peynier and Mauduit, had ſo effectually prevailed with M. Barnave *(m)*, the preſident of the committee for the colonies, that they found their cauſe prejudged, and their conduct condemned, without a hearing. The national aſſembly had iſſued a peremptory order, on the 21ſt of September, directing them to attend at Paris, and wait there for further directions. Their prompt obedience to this order procured them no favour. They were allowed a ſingle audience only, and then indignantly diſmiſſed from the bar. They ſolicited a ſecond, and an opportunity of being confronted with their adverſaries: the national aſſembly refuſed their requeſt, and directed the colonial committee to haſten its report concerning their conduct. On the 11th of October, this report was preſented by M. Barnave. It comprehended a detail of all the proceedings of the colonial aſſembly, from its firſt meeting at St. Marc's, and cenſured their general conduct in terms of great aſperity; repreſenting it as flowing from motives of diſaffection towards the mother-country, and an impatience of ſubordination to conſtitutional authority and good government. The report concluded by recommending, "that all the pretended decrees and acts of the "ſaid colonial aſſembly, ſhould be reverſed, and pronounced "utterly null and of no effect; that the ſaid aſſembly ſhould be "declared diſſolved, and its members rendered ineligible and "incapable of being delegated in future to the colonial aſſem-"bly of St. Domingo; that teſtimonies of approbation ſhould "be tranſmitted to the Northern provincial aſſembly, to "Colonel Mauduit and the regiment of Port au Prince, for "reſiſting

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(*m*) Guillotined December 1, 1793.

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"reſiſting the proceedings at St. Marc's; that the king ſhould "be requeſted to give orders for the forming a new colonial "aſſembly on the principles of the national decree of the 8th of "March 1790, and inſtructions of the 28th of the ſame month; "finally, that the *ci-devant* members, then in France, ſhould "continue in a ſtate of arreſt, until the national aſſembly might "find time to ſignify its further pleaſure concerning them." A decree to this effect was accordingly voted on the 12th of October, by a very large majority; and the king was requeſted, at the ſame time, to ſend out an augmentation of force, both naval and military, for the better ſupporting the regal authority in St. Domingo.

It is not eaſy to deſcribe the ſurpriſe and indignation which the news of this decree excited in St. Domingo, except among the partizans of the former government. By *them* it was regarded as the firſt ſtep towards the revival of the ancient ſyſtem; by moſt other perſons it was conſidered as a dereliction by the national aſſembly of all principle; and the orders for electing a new colonial aſſembly were ſo little regarded, that many of the pariſhes poſitively refuſed to chooſe other deputies until the fate of their former members, at that time in France, ſhould be decided; declaring, that they ſtill conſidered thoſe perſons as the legal repreſentatives of the colony. One immediate and apparent effect of this decree was, to heighten and inflame the popular reſentment againſt Mauduit and his regiment. The reader has already been made acquainted with ſome particulars concerning this officer; and to what has been ſaid of his general character, and his intemperate zeal for the re-eſtabliſhment of the regal authority in its fulleſt extent, it may be added, that he was the more dangerous, becauſe he was generous in his diſpoſition, and even profuſe in his bounty, towards his ſoldiers. In return, the attachment of his regiment towards his perſon appeared to exceed the uſual limits of obedience and duty (*n*).

THE maſſacre of this man by thoſe very troops, a ſhort time after the notification of the aforeſaid decree, affords ſo ſtriking an inſtance of that cruel and ungovernable diſpoſition, equally impetuous and inconſtant, which prevailed, and I am afraid ſtill continues to prevail, amongſt the lower claſſes of the people throughout all the French dominions, that I conceive a brief recital of the circumſtances attending his murder will not be thought an unneceſſary digreſſion.

I HAVE, in a former place (*o*), given ſome account of the proceedings of M. Peynier, the late governor, againſt certain perſons who compoſed what was called the committee of the Weſtern provincial aſſembly, and of the attempt by M. Mauduit to ſeize by force the individuals who compoſed that committee. This happened on the 29th of July 1790; and I obſerved that the circumſtance of M. Mauduit's carrying off the colours from a detachment of the national guards on that occaſion, ultimately terminated in his deſtruction.

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(*n*) After his example they had rejected the national cockade, and wore a white feather in their hats, the ſymbol, or avowed ſignal, of the royal party.

(*o*) Chap. III.

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The caſe was, that not only the detachment from whom their enſign was taken, but the whole of the national guards throughout the colony, conſidered this act as the moſt outrageous and unpardonable inſult that could poſſibly be offered to a body of men, who had ſworn fidelity to the new conſtitution; and nothing but the dread of the ſuperior diſcipline of the veterans compoſing the Port au Prince regiment (which Mauduit commanded) prevented them from exerciſing exemplary vengeance on the author of their diſgrace. This regiment, therefore, being implicated in the crime of their commanding officer, was regarded by the other troops with hatred and deteſtation.

On the 3d of March 1791, two ſhips of the line Le Fougueux and Le Borée, arrived from France, with two battalions of the regiments of Artois and Normandy; and when it is known that theſe troops had been viſited by the crew of the Leopard, it will not appear ſurpriſing that, on their landing at Port au Prince, they ſhould have manifeſted the ſame hoſtile diſpoſition towards Mauduit's regiment, as was ſhewn by the national guards. They refuſed all manner of communication or intercourſe with them, and even declined to enter into any of their places of reſort. They conſidered, or affected to conſider, them, as enemies to the colony, and traitors to their country. This conduct in the new-comers towards the ill-fated regiment, ſoon made a wonderful impreſſion on the minds of both officers and privates of the regiment itſelf; and mutual reproach and accuſation ſpread through the whole corps. The white feather was indignantly torn from their hats, and dark and ſullen looks towards their once-loved commander, indicated not only that he had loſt their confidence, but alſo that he was the object of meditated miſchief. Mauduit ſoon perceived the full extent of his danger, and fearing to involve the governor (M. Blanchelande) and his family, in the ruin which awaited himſelf, he adviſed them to make the beſt of their way to Cape François, while they could do it with ſafety; and Blanchelande, for which he was afterwards much cenſured, followed this advice. Mauduit then harangued his grenadiers, to whom he had always ſhewn great kindneſs, and told them that he was willing, for the ſake of peace, to reſtore to the national troops the colours which he had formerly taken from them; and even to carry them, with his own hands, at the head of his regiment, and depoſit them in the church in which they had been uſually lodged: but he added, that he depended on their affection and duty to protect him from perſonal inſult, while making this ample apology. The faithleſs grenadiers declared that they would protect him with their lives.

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The next day the ceremony took place, and Mauduit reſtored the colours, as he had promiſed, before a vaſt croud of ſpectators. At that moment, one of his own ſoldiers cried aloud, *that he muſt aſk pardon of the national troops on his knees*; and the whole regiment applauded the propoſal. Mauduit ſtarted back with indignation, and offered his boſom to their ſwords:—it was pierced with a hundred wounds, all of them inflicted by his own men, while not a ſingle hand was lifted up in his defence. The ſpectators ſtood motionleſs, either through hatred to the man, or ſurpriſe at the treachery and cowardice of the ſoldiers. Such indeed was the baſeneſs of theſe wretches,

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that no modern language can deſcribe, but in terms which would not be endured, the horrible enormities that were practiſed on the dead body of their wretched commander. It was reſerved for the preſent day to behold, for the firſt time, a civilized nation exceeding in feats of cruelty and revenge the ſavages of North America. I grieve to add, that many other dreadful inſtances might be recited in confirmation of this remark *(p)*.

WHILE theſe ſhameful enormities were paſſing in St. Domingo, the ſociety of *Amis des Noirs* in the mother-country were but too ſucceſsfully employed in deviſing projects which gave birth to deeds of ſtill greater horror, and produced ſcenes that transformed the moſt beautiful colony in the world into a field of deſolation and carnage.

ALTHOUGH it muſt have occurred to every unprejudiced mind, from the circumſtances that have been related concerning the behaviour of the mulattoes reſident in the colony, that

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(p) The following anecdote, though ſhocking to humanity, I have thought too extraordinary to omit. It was communicated to me by a French gentleman who was at St. Domingo at the time, and knew the fact; but decency has induced me to veil it in a learned language. MAUDUITO *vix mortuo, unus de militibus, dum cadaver calidum, et cruore adhuc fluente madidum, in pavimentum eccleſiæ epiſcopalis jacuit, ſicam diſtringens, genitalia coram populo abſcidit, et membra truncata in ciſtam componens ad feminam nobilem, quam amicam Mauduito ſtatuit, ut legatum de mortuo attulit.* It may afford the reader ſome conſolation to find that the murder of their commanding officer by his own regiment, excited in all the other troops no other ſentiments than thoſe of indignation againſt his murderers. They were compelled to lay down their arms, and were ſent priſoners to France; but I fear they eſcaped the puniſhment due to their crimes.

the general body of thoſe people were by no means averſe to conciliation with the whites, yet it was found impoſſible to perſuade their pretended friends in Europe to leave the affairs of St Domingo to their natural courſe. Barnave alone (hitherto the moſt formidable opponent of the prejudices and pretenſions of the coloniſts) avowed his conviction that any further interference of the mother-country in the queſtion between the whites and the coloured people, would be productive of fatal conſequences. Such an opinion was entitled to greater reſpect, as coming from a man who, as preſident of the colonial committee, muſt be ſuppoſed to have acquired an intimate knowledge of the ſubject; but he was heard without conviction. There are enthuſiaſts in politicks as well as in religion, and it commonly happens with fanaticks in each, that the recantation of a few of their number ſerves only to ſtrengthen the errors, and animate the purpoſes of the reſt. It was now reſolved by Gregoire, La Fayette, Briſſot, and ſome other peſtilent reformers, to call in the ſupreme legiſlative authority of the French government to give effect to their projects; and that the reader may clearly underſtand the nature and complexion of the miſchief that was meditated, and of thoſe meaſures to which the ruin of the French part of St Domingo is immediately to be attributed, it is neceſſary, in the firſt place, to recal his attention to the national decree of the 8th of March 1790, of which an account was given in the ſecond chapter.

By that decree, as the reader muſt have remembered, the national aſſembly, among other things, diſclaimed all right of interference in the local and interior concerns of the colonies; and

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it cannot be doubted, that if this declaration had been faithfully interpreted and acted upon, it would have contributed, in a very eminent degree, to the reſtoration of peace and tranquillity in St. Domingo. To render it therefore of as little effect as poſſible, and to add fuel to the fire which perhaps would otherwiſe have become extinguiſhed, it had been inſidiouſly propoſed in the national aſſembly, within a few days after the decree of the 8th of March had paſſed, to tranſmit with it to the governor of St. Domingo, a code, or chapter, of inſtructions, for its due and punctual obſervance and execution. Accordingly, on the 28th of the ſame month, inſtructions which were ſaid to be calculated for that purpoſe, were preſented and decreed. They conſiſted of eighteen articles, and contained, among other things, a direction "that every perſon of the age of twenty-"five and upwards, poſſeſſing property, or having reſided two "years in the colony, and paid taxes, ſhould be permitted to "vote in the formation of the colonial aſſembly."

The friends of the coloniſts having at that time ſeats in the national aſſembly, oppoſed the meaſure chiefly on the ground of its repugnancy to the decree of the 8th; it being evidently, they urged, an interference in the local arrangements and interior regulations of the colonial government. It does not appear (notwithſtanding what has ſince been aſſerted to the contrary) that they entertained an idea that the mulatto people were directly or indirectly concerned. The framers and ſupporters of the meaſure pretended that it went only to the modification of the privilege of voting in the parochial meetings, which it was well known, under the old government, had been conſtituted of white perſons only. The coloured people had in no inſtance attended thoſe meetings, nor ſet up a claim, or even expreſſed a deſire, to take any part in the buſineſs tranſacted thereat. But theſe inſtructions were no ſooner adopted by the national aſſembly, and converted into a decree, than its framers and ſupporters threw off the maſk, and the mulattoes reſident in the mother-country, as well as the ſociety of *Amis des Noirs*, failed not to apprize their friends and agents in St. Domingo, that the people of colour, not being excepted, were virtually comprized in it. Theſe, however, not thinking themſelves ſufficiently powerful to enforce the claim, or, perhaps, doubting the real meaning of the decree, ſent deputies to France to demand an explanation of it from the national aſſembly.

In the beginning of May 1791, the conſideration of this ſubject was brought forward by Abbé Gregoire, and the claim of the free mulattoes to the full benefit of the inſtructions of the 28th of March 1790, and to all the rights and privileges enjoyed by the white inhabitants, citizens of the French colonies, was ſupported with all that warmth and eloquence for which he was diſtinguiſhed. Unfortunately, at this juncture, the news of the miſerable death of Ogé arrived at Paris, and raiſed a ſtorm of indignation in the minds of all ranks of people, which the planters reſident in France were unable to reſiſt. Nothing was heard in all companies but declamations againſt their oppreſſion and cruelty. To ſupport and animate the popular outcry againſt them, a tragedy or pantomime, formed on the ſtory of Ogé, was repreſented on the publick theatres. By theſe, and other means, the planters were become ſo generally odious, that for

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for a time they dared not to appear in the ſtreets of Paris. Theſe were the arts by which Gregoire, Condorcet, La Fayette, Briſſot, and Robeſpierre diſpoſed the publick mind to clamour for a new and explanatory decree, in which the rights of the coloured people ſhould be placed beyond all future doubts and diſpute. The friends and advocates of the planters were overpowered and confounded. In vain did they predict the utter deſtruction of the colonies if ſuch a propoſal ſhould paſs into a law. "Periſh the colonies," ſaid Robeſpierre, "rather than "ſacrifice one iota of our principles." The majority reiterated the ſentiment, and the famous decree of the 15th of May 1791 was pronounced amidſt the acclamation and applauſe of the multitude.

By this decree it was declared and enacted, "that the people of colour reſident in the French colonies, born of free parents, were entitled to, as of right, and ſhould be allowed the enjoyment of, all the privileges of French citizens, and among others, to thoſe of having votes in the choice of repreſentatives, and of *being eligible to ſeats both in the parochial and colonial aſſemblies*." Thus did the national aſſembly ſweep away in a moment all the laws, uſages, prejudices, and opinions concerning theſe people, which had exiſted in the French colonies from their earlieſt ſettlement, and tear up by the roots the firſt principle of a free conſtitution :—a principle founded on the cleareſt dictates of reaſon and juſtice, and expreſsly confirmed to the inhabitants of the French Weſt Indies by the national decree of the 8th of March 1790; I mean, *the ſole and excluſive right of paſſing laws for their local and interior regulation and government.*

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The colonial committee, of which M. Barnave was preſident, failed not to apprize the national aſſembly of the fatal conſequences of this meaſure, and immediately ſuſpended the exerciſe of its functions. At the ſame time, the deputies from the colonies ſignified their purpoſe to decline any further attendance. The only effect produced by theſe meaſures however, on the national aſſembly, was an order that the three civil commiſſioners, who had been appointed in February preceding for regulating the affairs of the colonies on the ſpot, ſhould immediately repair thither, and ſee the national decrees duly enforced. The conſequences in St. Domingo will be related in the following chapter *(q)*.

(q) It has been confidently aſſerted, that *La Fayette*, in order to ſecure a majority on this queſtion, introduced into the national aſſembly no leſs than eighty perſons who were not members, but who ſat and voted as ſuch. This man had formerly been poſſeſſed of a plantation at Cayenne, with ſeventy negro ſlaves thereon, which he had ſold, without any ſcruple or ſtipulation concerning the ſituation of the negroes, the latter end of 1789, and from that time enrolled himſelf among the friends of the blacks. The mere Engliſh reader, who may be perſonally unacquainted with the Weſt Indies, will probably conſider the clamour which was raiſed on this occaſion by the French planters as equally illiberal and unjuſt. The planters in the Britiſh Weſt Indies will perhaps bring the caſe home to themſelves; and I have no heſitation in ſaying, that, ſuppoſing the Engliſh parliament ſhould paſs a law declaring, for inſtance, the free mulattoes of Jamaica to be eligible into the aſſembly of that iſland, ſuch a meaſure would prove there, as it proved in St. Domingo, the declaration of civil war. On mere abſtract reaſoning this may appear ſtrange and unjuſtifiable; but we muſt take mankind as we find them, and few inſtances occur in which the prejudices of habit, education, and opinion, have been corrected *by force.*

CHAP. VI.

Conſequences in St. Domingo of the Decree of the 15th of May—Rebellion of the Negroes in the Northern Province, and Enormities committed by them—Revolt of the Mulattoes at Mirebalais —Concordat *or Truce between the inhabitants of Port-au-Prince and the Men of Colour of the 11th of September—Proclamation by the National Aſſembly of the 20th of September.*

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I AM now to enter on the retroſpect of ſcenes, the horrors of which imagination cannot adequately conceive nor pen deſcribe. The diſputes and conteſts between different claſſes of French citizens, and the violences of malignant factions towards each other, no longer claim attention. Such a picture of human miſery;—ſuch a ſcene of woe, preſents itſelf, as no other country, no former age has exhibited. Upwards of one hundred thouſand ſavage people, habituated to the barbarities of Africa, avail themſelves of the ſilence and obſcurity of the night, and fall on the peaceful and unſuſpicious planters, like ſo many famiſhed tygers thirſting for human blood. Revolt, conflagration, and maſſacre, every where mark their progreſs; and death, in all its horrors, or cruelties and outrages, compared to which immediate death is mercy, await like the old and the young, the matron, the virgin, and the helpleſs infant. No condition, age, or ſex is ſpared. All the ſhocking and ſhameful enormities, with which the fierce and unbridled paſſions of ſavage man have ever conducted a war, prevail uncontrouled.

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The rage of fire conſumes what the ſword is unable to deſtroy, and, in a few diſmal hours, the moſt fertile and beautiful plains in the world are converted into one vaſt field of carnage;—a wilderneſs of deſolation!

THERE is indeed too much reaſon to believe, that theſe miſeries would have occurred in St. Domingo, in a great degree, even if the proceedings of the National Aſſembly, as related in the latter part of the preceding chapter, had been more temperate, and if the decree of the 15th of May had never paſſed into a law. The declarations of the dying Ogé ſufficiently point out the miſchief that was meditated, long before that obnoxious decree was promulgated. But it may be affirmed, with truth and certainty, that this fatal meaſure gave life and activity to the poiſon. It was the brand by which the flames were lighted, and the combuſtibles that were prepared ſet into action. Intelligence having been received of it at Cape François on the 30th of June, no words can deſcribe the rage and indignation which immediately ſpread throughout the colony; and in no place did the inhabitants breathe greater reſentment than in the town of the Cape, which had hitherto been foremoſt in profeſſions of attachment to the mother-country, and in promoting the ſpirit of diſunion and oppoſition in the colonial aſſembly. They now unanimouſly determined to reject the civick oath, although great preparations had been made for a general federation on the 14th of July. The news of this decree ſeemed to unite the moſt diſcordant intereſts. In the firſt tranſports of indignation it was propoſed to ſeize all the ſhips, and confiſcate the effects of the French merchants then in the harbour. An embargo was actually laid, and a motion was even made in the provincial aſſembly to pull down the national colours, and hoiſt the Britiſh ſtandard in their room. The national cockade was every where trodden under foot, and the governor-general, who continued a ſorrowful and ſilent ſpectator of theſe exceſſes, found his authority, as repreſentative of the parent country, together with every idea of colonial ſubordination in the people, annihilated in a moment.

THE fears and apprehenſions which the governor felt on this occaſion have been well deſcribed by that officer himſelf, in a memorial which he afterwards publiſhed concerning his adminiſtration. "Acquainted (he obſerves) with the genius "and temper of the white coloniſts, by a reſidence of ſeven "years in the Windward Iſlands, and well informed of the "grounds and motives of their prejudices and opinions con- "cerning the people of colour, I immediately foreſaw the "diſturbances and dangers which the news of this ill-adviſed "meaſure would inevitably produce; and not having it in my "power to ſuppreſs the communication of it, I loſt no time in "apprizing the king's miniſters of the general diſcontent and "violent fermentation which it excited in the colony. To my "own obſervations, I added thoſe of many reſpectable, ſober, "and diſpaſſionate men, whom I thought it my duty to conſult "in ſo critical a conjuncture; and I concluded my letter by ex- "preſſing my fears that this decree would prove the death- "warrant of many thouſands of the inhabitants. The event "has mournfully verified my predictions!"

On the recommendation of the provincial aſſembly of the Northern department, the ſeveral pariſhes throughout the colony now proceeded, without further heſitation, to the election of deputies for a new general colonial aſſembly. Theſe deputies, to the number of one hundred and ſeventy-ſix, met at Leogane, and on the 9th of Auguſt declared themſelves *the general aſſembly of the French part of St. Domingo.* They tranſacted however but little buſineſs, but manifeſted great unanimity and temper in their proceedings, and reſolved to hold their meetings at Cape François, whither they adjourned for that purpoſe, appointing the 25th of the ſame month for opening the ſeſſion.

In the mean-while, ſo great was the agitation of the publick mind, M. Blanchelande found it neceſſary not only to tranſmit to the provincial aſſembly of the North, a copy of the letter which he mentions to have written to the king's miniſters, but alſo to accompany it with a ſolemn aſſurance, pledging himſelf *to ſuſpend the execution of the obnoxious decree, whenever it ſhould come out to him properly authenticated*; a meaſure which too plainly demonſtrated that his authority in the colony was at an end.

Justly alarmed at all theſe proceedings, ſo hoſtile towards them, and probably apprehenſive of a general proſcription, the mulattoes throughout the colony began to collect in different places in armed bodies; and the whites, by a mournful fatality, ſuffered them to aſſemble without moleſtation. In truth, every man's thoughts were directed towards the meeting of the new

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colonial aſſembly, from whoſe deliberations and proceedings the extinction of party, and the full and immediate redreſs of all exiſting grievances, were confidently expected. M. Blanchelande himſelf declares, that he cheriſhed the ſame flattering and fallacious hopes. "After a long ſucceſſion of violent ſtorms, "I fondly expected (he writes) the return of a calm and ſerene "morning. The temperate and conciliating conduct of the "new aſſembly, during their ſhort ſitting at Leogane, the "characters of moſt of the individual members, and the neceſſity, ſo apparent to all, of mutual conceſſion and unanimity "on this great occaſion, led me to think that the colony would "at length ſee the termination of its miſeries; when, alas, the "ſtorm was ready to burſt, which has ſince involved us in one "common deſtruction!"

It was on the morning of the 23d of Auguſt, juſt before day, that a general alarm and conſternation ſpread throughout the town of the Cape. The inhabitants were called from their beds by perſons who reported that all the negro ſlaves in the ſeveral neighbouring pariſhes had revolted, and were at that moment carrying death and deſolation over the adjoining large and beautiful plain to the North-eaſt. The governor, and moſt of the military officers on duty, aſſembled together; but the reports were ſo confuſed and contradictory, as to gain but little credit; when, as day-light began to break, the ſudden and ſucceſſive arrival, with ghaſtly countenances, of perſons who had with difficulty eſcaped the maſſacre, and flown to the town for protection, brought a dreadful confirmation of the fatal tidings.

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The rebellion firſt broke out on a plantation called *Noé*, in the pariſh of *Acul*, nine miles only from the city. Twelve or fourteen of the ring-leaders, about the middle of the night, proceeded to the refinery, or ſugar-houſe, and ſeized on a young man, the refiner's apprentice, dragged him to the front of the dwelling-houſe, and there hewed him into pieces with their cutlaſſes: his ſcreams brought out the overſeer, whom they inſtantly ſhot. The rebels now found their way to the apartment of the refiner, and maſſacred him in his bed. A young man lying ſick in a neighbouring chamber, was left apparently dead of the wounds inflicted by their cutlaſſes: he had ſtrength enough however to crawl to the next plantation, and relate the horrors he had witneſſed. He reported, that all the whites of the eſtate which he had left were murdered, except only the ſurgeon, whom the rebels had compelled to accompany them, on the idea that they might ſtand in need of his profeſſional aſſiſtance. Alarmed by this intelligence, the perſons to whom it was communicated immediately ſought their ſafety in flight. What became of the poor youth I have never been informed.

The revolters (conſiſting now of all the ſlaves belonging to that plantation) proceeded to the houſe of a Mr. Clement, by whoſe negroes alſo they were immediately joined, and both he and his refiner were maſſacred. The murderer of Mr. Clement was his own poſtillion, a man to whom he had always ſhewn great kindneſs. The other white people on this eſtate contrived to make their eſcape.

At this juncture, the negroes on the plantation of M. Flaville, a few miles diſtant, likewiſe roſe and murdered five white perſons, one of whom (the *procureur* or attorney for the eſtate) had a wife and three daughters. Theſe unfortunate women, while imploring for mercy of the ſavages on their knees, beheld their huſband and father murdered before their faces. For themſelves, they were devoted to a more horrid fate, and were carried away captives by the aſſaſſins.

The approach of day-light ſerved only to diſcover ſights of horror. It was now apparent that the negroes on all the eſtates in the plain acted in concert, and a general maſſacre of the whites took place in every quarter. On ſome few eſtates indeed the lives of the women were ſpared, but they were reſerved only to gratify the brutal appetites of the ruffians; and it is ſhocking to relate, that many of them ſuffered violation on the dead bodies of their huſbands and fathers!

In the town itſelf, the general belief for ſome time was, that the revolt was by no means an extenſive, but a ſudden and partial inſurrection only. The largeſt ſugar plantation on the plain was that of Monſ. Gallifet, ſituated about eight miles from the town, the negroes belonging to which had always been treated with ſuch kindneſs and liberality, and poſſeſſed ſo many advantages, that it became a proverbial expreſſion among the lower white people, in ſpeaking of any man's good fortune, to ſay *il eſt heureux comme un negre de Gallifet* (he is as happy as one of Gallifet's negroes). M. Odeluc, the attorney, or agent, for this plantation, was a member of the general aſſembly, and being fully perſuaded that the negroes belonging to it would remain firm in their obedience, determined to repair thither to encourage them in oppoſing the inſurgents; to which end, he deſired the aſſiſtance of a few ſoldiers from the town guard, which was granted him. He proceeded accordingly, but on approaching the eſtate, to his ſurpriſe and grief he found all the negroes in arms on the ſide of the rebels, and (horrid to tell!) *their ſtandard was the body of a white infant, which they had recently impaled on a ſtake!* M. Odeluc had advanced too far to retreat undiſcovered, and both he, and a friend that accompanied him, with moſt of the ſoldiers, were killed without mercy. Two or three only of the patrole, eſcaped by flight; and conveyed the dreadful tidings to the inhabitants of the town.

By this time, all or moſt of the white perſons that had been found on the ſeveral plantations, being maſſacred or forced to ſeek their ſafety in flight, the ruffians exchanged the ſword for the torch. The buildings and cane-fields were every where ſet on fire; and the conflagrations, which were viſible from the town, in a thouſand different quarters, furniſhed a proſpect more ſhocking, and reflections more diſmal, than fancy can paint, or the powers of man deſcribe.

Consternation and terror now took poſſeſſion of every mind: and the ſcreams of the women and children, running from door to door, heightened the horrors of the ſcene. All the citizens took up arms, and the general aſſembly veſted the governor with the command of the national guards, requeſting him to give ſuch orders as the urgency of the caſe ſeemed to demand.

One of the firſt meaſures was to ſend the white women and children on board the ſhips in the harbour; and very ſerious apprehenſions

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apprehenſions being entertained concerning the domeſtick negroes within the town, a great proportion of the ableſt men among them were likewiſe ſent on ſhipboard and cloſely guarded.

There ſtill remained in the city a conſiderable body of free mulattoes, who had not taken, or affected not to take, any part in the diſputes between their brethren of colour and the white inhabitants. Their ſituation was extremely critical; for the lower claſs of whites, conſidering the mulattoes as the immediate authors of the rebellion, marked them for deſtruction; and the whole number in the town would undoubtedly have been murdered without ſcruple, if the governor and the colonial aſſembly had not vigorouſly interpoſed, and taken them under their immediate protection. Grateful for this interpoſition in their favour (perhaps not thinking their lives otherwiſe ſecure) all the able men among them offered to march immediately againſt the rebels, and to leave their wives and children as hoſtages for their fidelity. Their offer was accepted, and they were enrolled in different companies of the militia.

The aſſembly continued their deliberations throughout the night, amidſt the glare of the ſurrounding conflagrations; and the inhabitants, being ſtrengthened by a number of ſeamen from the ſhips, and brought into ſome degree of order and military ſubordination, were now deſirous that a detachment ſhould be ſent to attack the ſtrongeſt body of the revolters. Orders were given accordingly; and M. de Touzard, an officer who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the ſervice of the North Americans, took the command of a party of militia and troops of the line. With theſe, he marched to the plantation of a M. Latour, and attacked a body of about four thouſand of the rebel negroes. Many were deſtroyed, but to little purpoſe; for Touzard, finding the number of revolters to encreaſe in more than a centuple proportion to their loſſes, was at length obliged to retreat; and it cannot be doubted, that if the rebels had forthwith proceeded to the town, defenceleſs as it then was towards the plain, they might have fired it without difficulty, and deſtroyed all its inhabitants, or compelled them to fly to the ſhipping for refuge.

Sensible of this, the governor, by the advice of the aſſembly, determined to act for ſome time ſolely on the defenſive; and as it was every moment to be apprehended that the revolters would pour down upon the town, the firſt meaſure reſorted to was to fortify the roads and paſſes leading into it. At the eaſtern extremity, the main road from the plain is interſected by a river, which luckily had no bridge over it, and was croſſed in ferry boats. For the defence of this paſſage, a battery of cannon was raiſed on boats laſhed together; while two ſmall camps were formed at proper diſtances on the banks. The other principal entrance into the town, and contiguous to it towards the ſouth, was through a mountainous diſtrict, called *le Haut du Cap.* Poſſeſſion was immediately taken of theſe heights, and conſiderable bodies of troops, with ſuch artillery as could be ſpared, were ſtationed thereon. But theſe precautions not being thought ſufficient, it was alſo determined to ſurround the whole of the town, except the ſide next the ſea, with a ſtrong paliſade

and

and *chevaux de friſe*; in the erecting and completing of which, all the inhabitants laboured without diſtinction or intermiſſion. At the ſame time, an embargo was laid on all the ſhipping in the harbour; a meaſure of indiſpenſable neceſſity, calculated as well to obtain the aſſiſtance of the ſeamen, as to ſecure a retreat for the inhabitants in the laſt extremity.

To ſuch of the diſtant pariſhes as were open to communication either by land or by ſea, notice of the revolt had been tranſmitted within a few hours after advice of it was received at the Cape; and the white inhabitants of many of thoſe pariſhes had therefore found time to eſtabliſh camps, and form a chain of poſts, which for a ſhort time ſeemed to prevent the rebellion ſpreading beyond the Northern province (a). Two of thoſe camps however, one at *Grande Riviere*, the other at *Dondon*, were attacked by the negroes (who were here openly joined by the mulattoes) and forced with great ſlaughter. At Dondon, the whites maintained the conteſt for ſeven hours; but were overpowered by the infinite diſparity of numbers, and compelled to give way, with the loſs of upwards of one hundred of their body. The ſurvivors took refuge in the Spaniſh territory.

These two diſtricts therefore; the whole of the rich and extenſive plain of the Cape, together with the contiguous mountains, were now wholly abandoned to the ravages of the enemy, and the cruelties which they exerciſed, uncontrouled, on ſuch of the miſerable whites as fell into their hands, cannot be remembered without horror, nor reported in terms ſtrong enough to convey a proper idea of their atrocity.

(a) It is believed that a general inſurrection was to have taken place throughout the colony on the 25th of Auguſt (St. Louis's day); but that the impatience and impetuoſity of ſome negroes on the plain, induced them to commence their operations two days before the time.

They ſeized Mr. Blen, an officer of the police, and having nailed him alive to one of the gates of his plantation, chopped off his limbs, one by one with an axe.

A poor man named *Robert*, a carpenter by trade, endeavouring to conceal himſelf from the notice of the rebels, was diſcovered in his hiding-place; and the ſavages declared *that he ſhould die in the way of his occupation:* accordingly they bound him between two boards, and deliberately ſawed him aſunder.

M. Cardineau, a planter of *Grande Riviere*, had two natural ſons by a black woman. He had manumitted them in their infancy, and bred them up with great tenderneſs. They both joined in the revolt; and when their father endeavoured to divert them from their purpoſe, by ſoothing language and pecuniary offers, they took his money, and then ſtabbed him to the heart.

All the white, and even the mulatto children whoſe fathers had not joined in the revolt, were murdered without exception, frequently before the eyes, or clinging to the boſoms, of their mothers. Young women of all ranks were firſt violated by a whole troop of barbarians, and then generally put to death.

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Some of them were indeed reſerved for the further gratification of the luſt of the ſavages, and others had their eyes ſcooped out with a knife.

In the pariſh of *Limbè*, at a place called the Great Ravine, a venerable planter, the father of two beautiful young ladies, was tied down by a ſavage ringleader of a band, who raviſhed the eldeſt daughter in his preſence, and delivered over the youngeſt to one of his followers: their paſſion being ſatisfied, they ſlaughtered both the father and the daughters.

Amidst theſe ſcenes of horror, one inſtance however occurs of ſuch fidelity and attachment in a negro, as is equally unexpected and affecting. Monſ. and Madame Baillon, their daughter and ſon-in-law, and two white ſervants, reſiding on a mountain plantation about thirty miles from Cape François, were apprized of the revolt by one of their own ſlaves, who was himſelf in the conſpiracy, but promiſed, if poſſible, to ſave the lives of his maſter and his family. Having no immediate means of providing for their eſcape, he conducted them into an adjacent wood; after which he went and joined the revolters. The following night, he found an opportunity of bringing them proviſions from the rebel camp. The ſecond night he returned again, with a further ſupply of proviſions; but declared that it would be out of his power to give them any further aſſiſtance. After this, they ſaw nothing of the negro for three days; but at the end of that time he came again; and directed the family how to make their way to a river which led to Port Margot, aſſuring them they would find a canoe on a part of the river which he deſcribed. They followed his directions, found the canoe, and got ſafely into it; but were overſet by the rapidity of the current, and after a narrow eſcape, thought it beſt to return to their retreat in the mountains. The negro, anxious for their ſafety, again found them out, and directed them to a broader part of the river, where he aſſured them he had provided a boat; but ſaid it was the laſt effort he could make to ſave them. They went accordingly, but not finding the boat, gave themſelves up for loſt, when the faithful negro again appeared like their guardian angel. He brought with him pigeons, poultry, and bread; and conducted the family, by ſlow marches in the night, along the banks of the river, until they were within ſight of the wharf at Port Margot; when telling them they were entirely out of danger, he took his leave for ever, and went to join the rebels. The family were in the woods nineteen nights*.

Let us now turn our attention back to the town of the Cape; where, the inhabitants being at length placed, or ſuppoſed to be placed, in ſome ſort of ſecurity, it was thought neceſſary by the governor and aſſembly, that offenſive operations againſt the rebels ſhould be renewed, and a ſmall army, under the command of M. Rouvray, marched to the eaſtern part of the plain, and encamped at a place called *Roucrou*. A very conſiderable body of the rebel negroes took poſſeſſion, about

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* This account was communicated by Madame Baillon herſelf to a friend of the author, who was with him at St. Domingo, and who ſpoke French like a native: from that friend the author received it the ſame day, and immediately committed the particulars to writing.

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about the ſame time, of the large buildings on the plantation of M. Gallifet, and mounted ſome heavy pieces of artillery on the walls. They had procured the cannon at different ſhipping places and harbours along the coaſt, where it had been placed in time of war by the government, and imprudently left unprotected; but it was a matter of great ſurprize by what means they obtained ammunition *(b)*. From this plantation they ſent out foraging parties, with which the whites had frequent ſkirmiſhes. In theſe engagements, the negroes ſeldom ſtood their ground longer than to receive and return a ſingle volley, but they appeared again the next day; and though they were at length driven out of their entrenchments with infinite ſlaughter, yet their numbers ſeemed not to diminiſh:—as ſoon as one body was cut off, another appeared, and thus they ſucceeded in the object of haraſſing and deſtroying the whites by perpetual fatigue, and reducing the country to a deſert.

To detail the various conflicts, ſkirmiſhes, maſſacres, and ſcenes of ſlaughter, which this exterminating war produced, were to offer a diſguſting and frightful picture;—a combination of horrors; wherein we ſhould behold cruelties unexampled in

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(b) It was diſcovered afterwards, that great quantities of powder and ball were ſtolen by the negroes in the town of Cape François from the king's arſenal, and ſecretly conveyed to the rebels. Moſt of the fire-arms at firſt in their poſſeſſion were ſuppoſed to have been part of *Ogé*'s importation. But it grieves me to add, that the rebels were afterwards abundantly ſupplied, by ſmall veſſels from North America; the maſters of which felt no ſcruple to receive in payment ſugar and rum, from eſtates of which the owners had been murdered by the men with whom they trafficked.

the annals of mankind; human blood poured forth in torrents; the earth blackened with aſhes, and the air tainted with peſtilence. It was computed that, within two months after the revolt firſt began, upwards of two thouſand white perſons, of all conditions and ages, had been maſſacred;—that one hundred and eighty ſugar plantations, and about nine hundred coffee, cotton, and indigo ſettlements had been deſtroyed (the buildings thereon being conſumed by fire), and one thouſand two hundred chriſtian families reduced from opulence, to ſuch a ſtate of miſery as to depend altogether for their clothing and ſuſtenance on publick and private charity. Of the inſurgents, it was reckoned that upwards of ten thouſand had periſhed by the ſword or by famine; and ſome hundreds by the hands of the executioner;—many of them, I am ſorry to ſay, under the torture of the wheel;—a ſyſtem of revenge and retaliation, which no enormities of ſavage life could juſtify or excuſe *(c)*.

Hitherto,

(c) Two of theſe unhappy men ſuffered in this manner under the window of the author's lodgings, and in his preſence, at Cape François, on Thurſday the 28th of September 1791. They were broken on two pieces of timber placed croſswiſe. One of them expired on receiving the third ſtroke on his ſtomach, each of his legs and arms having been firſt broken in two places; the firſt three blows he bore without a groan. The other had a harder fate. When the executioner, after breaking his legs and arms, lifted up the inſtrument to give the finiſhing ſtroke on the breaſt, and which (by putting the criminal out of his pain) is called *le coup de grace*, the mob, with the ferocioufneſs of cannibals, called out *arretez!* (ſtop) and compelled him to leave his work unfiniſhed. In that condition, the miſerable wretch, with his broken limbs doubled up, was put on a cart-wheel, which was placed horizontally, one end of the axle-tree being driven into the earth. He

ſeemed

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Hitherto, my narrative has applied chiefly to tranſactions in the Northern province; I grieve to relate, that the flames of rebellion ſoon began to break forth alſo in the Weſtern diviſion. Here, however, the inſurgents were chiefly men of colour, of whom upwards of two thouſand appeared in arms in the pariſh of Mirebalais. Being joined by about ſix hundred of the negro ſlaves, they began their operations by burning the coffee plantations in the mountains adjacent to the plain of Cul-de-Sac. Some detachments of the military which were ſent againſt them from Port au Prince were repulſed; and the inſurgents continued to ravage and burn the country through an extent of thirty miles, practiſing the ſame exceſſes and ferocious barbarities towards ſuch of the whites as fell into their hands, as were diſplayed by the rebels in the North. They had the andacity at length to approach Port au Prince, with intention, as it was believed, to ſet it on fire; and ſo defenceleſs was the ſtate of that devoted town, that its deſtruction ſeemed inevitable. Many of the mulatto chiefs, however, finding that their attempts to gain over the negro ſlaves on the ſugar plantations in this part of the country, were not attended with that ſucceſs which they expected, expreſſed an unwillingneſs to proceed to this extremity; declaring that they took up arms not to deſolate the colony, but merely to ſupport the national decree of the 15th of May, and that they were not averſe to a reconciliation. Theſe ſentiments coming to the knowledge of M. de *Jumecourt*, a planter of eminence, he undertook the office

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ſeemed perfectly ſenſible, but uttered not a groan. At the end of forty minutes, ſome Engliſh ſeamen, who were ſpectators of the tragedy, ſtrangled him in mercy.

of mediator, and through his well-timed and powerful interpoſition, a truce or convention, called the *concordat*, was agreed upon the 11th of September, between the free people of colour, and the white inhabitants of Port au Prince, of which the chief proviſions were an oblivion of the paſt, and an engagement on the part of the whites, to admit in full force the national decree of the 15th of May, ſo often mentioned;—certainly the oſtenſible, though perhaps not the ſole and original cauſe of the rebellion*.

INSTRUCTED by this example, and ſoftened, it may be preſumed, by the loyal and temperate conduct of the free mulattoes in the town of Cape François, as before related, the general aſſembly, by a proclamation of the 20th of September, declared that they would no longer oppoſe the operation of the ſame decree. They even went further, and announced an intention to grant conſiderable indulgences towards ſuch free people of colour as were not comprehended in it, meaning thoſe who were born of enſlaved parents. They voted at the ſame time the formation of certain free companies of mulattoes, wherein the men of colour of all deſcriptions, poſſeſſed of certain qualifications, ſhould be allowed to ſerve as commiſſioned officers.

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* It ſhould alſo have been obſerved, that the condemnation and execution of Ogé is pronounced, in this *concordat*, "infamous, and to be held in everlaſting "execration." Theſe expreſſions were literally copied from a letter of Abbé Gregoire. I am obliged to the author of the hiſtory of Europe in the Annual Regiſter for 1792 (Rivington's edit.) for reminding me of this circumſtance.

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These conceſſions, at an earlier period, would have operated with powerful effect in the ſalvation of the colony; but they now came too late, and produced only a partial truce, a temporary and fallacious ceſſation of miſeries. The wounds that had been inflicted were yet green and bleeding; and the dark and ſullen paſſions of diſappointed pride, anger, malice, hatred and revenge, were ſecretly burning in the gloomy minds of all parties. The flames were ſmothered, not extinguiſhed; ſoon to break out again, with aggravated violence and greater fury than ever.

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Of the Motives which induced the People of Colour to join the revolted Negroes—Conduct of the Britiſh Aſſociation for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, and of the Society in Paris called Les Amis des Noirs*—Letter from Abbé Gregoire to the People of Colour—Repeal of the Decree of the 15th May 1791—Effects of that Meaſure—Civil War with the Mulattoes renewed—Port au Prince deſtroyed by Fire—Cruelties exerciſed by both Parties—Arrival at Cape François of the Civil Commiſſioners.*

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BEFORE I proceed to a renewal of thoſe diſguſting ſcenes of devaſtation, ſlaughter, and ruin, which my duty, as a faithful hiſtorian, calls upon me to decribe (happy if they ſerve as an impreſſive leſſon to other nations!) it ſeems neceſſary to remove ſome difficulties which may poſſibly have ariſen in the mind of the reader, concerning the original and primary cauſe of the junction and co-operation of ſo large a number of the negro ſlaves, in this rebellion, with the men of colour. That the whole body of the latter in St. Domingo had ſolid ground of complaint and diſſatisfaction, cannot be denied. There is a point at which oppreſſion ſometimes arrives, when forbearance under it ceaſes to be a virtue; and I ſhould readily have admitted that the actual ſituation and condition of the mulattoes in the French iſlands would have made reſiſtance a duty, if it did not appear, from what I have already related, that the redreſs

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dreſs of their grievances occupied the very firſt deliberations of the firſt general aſſembly of repreſentatives that ever met in St. Domingo. Certainly, then, no juſtification can be offered for thoſe peſtilent reformers, who could perſuade theſe unfortunate people to ſeek that relief by rebellion and maſſacre, which was offered to them by the ſupreme power of the country, as a ſpontaneous and voluntary conceſſion;—the homage of enlightened reaſon on the altar of humanity. Concerning the enſlaved negroes, however, it does not appear that the conduct of the whites towards them was in general reprehenſible. I believe, on the whole, it was as lenient and indulgent as was conſiſtent with their own ſafety. It was the mulatto people themſelves who were the hard-hearted taſk-maſters to the negroes. The ſame indignities which they received from the whites, they directed without ſcruple towards the blacks; exerciſing over the latter every ſpecies of that oppreſſion which they loudly and juſtly complained of, when exerciſed on themſelves;—and this is a true picture of human nature. By what means, then, it will be aſked, were the negroes induced to forget their reſentments, and join with thoſe who were the conſtant objects both of their envy and hatred?

In order to reply to this queſtion, with as much accuracy and preciſion as the ſubject will admit, it is neceſſary to recur to the proceedings of the two aſſociations, of which mention was made in the Second Chapter of this Hiſtory; namely, the Britiſh aſſociation for the abolition of the ſlave trade, which held its meetings in the Old Jewry in London; and the ſociety called *Les Amis des Noirs* in Paris. A ſhort review of the conduct of theſe ſocieties will ſerve not only to leſſen the ſurprize which may be felt at the revolt of the negroes of St. Domingo, but alſo raiſe a conſiderable degree of aſtoniſhment that the enſlaved negroes in the Britiſh iſlands had not given them the example.

I HAVE obſerved, that the ſociety in London *profeſſed* to have nothing more in view than to obtain an act of the legiſlature for prohibiting the further introduction of African ſlaves into the Britiſh colonies. I have ſaid, that "they diſclaimed "all intention of interfering with the government and condi-"tion of the negroes already in the plantations; publickly de-"claring their opinion to be, that a general emancipation of "thoſe people, in their preſent ſtate of ignorance and barba-"rity, inſtead of a bleſſing, would prove to them the ſource of "misfortune and miſery." But although ſuch were their oſtenſible declarations as a publick body, the leading members of the ſociety, in the ſame moment, held a very different language; and even the ſociety itſelf (acting as ſuch) purſued a line of conduct directly and immediately repugnant to their own profeſſions. Beſides uſing every poſſible endeavour to inflame the publick of Great Britain againſt the planters, they diſtributed at a prodigious expence throughout the colonies, tracts and pamphlets without number, the direct tendency of which was to render the white inhabitants odious and contemptible in the eyes of their own ſlaves, and excite in the latter ſuch ideas of their natural rights and equality of condition, as ſhould lead them to a general ſtruggle for freedom through rebellion and bloodſhed. In many of thoſe writings, arguments are expreſsly

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preſsly adduced, in language which cannot be miſunderſtood, to urge the negroes to riſe up and murder their maſters without mercy.—" Reſiſtance," ſay they, " is always juſtifiable where " force is the ſubſtitute of right: *nor is the commiſſion of a civil* " *crime poſſible in a ſtate of ſlavery*." Theſe ſentiments are repeated in a thouſand different forms; and in order that they might not loſe their effect by abſtract reaſoning, a reverend divine of the church of England, in a pamphlet addreſſed to the chairman or preſident of the ſociety, pours forth the moſt earneſt prayers, in the moſt undiſguiſed expreſſions, that the negroes would deſtroy all the white people, men, women, and children, in the Weſt Indies: " Should we not, (he exclaims) approve " their conduct in their violence? Should we not crown it with " eulogium, if they exterminate their tyrants with fire and " ſword! *Should they even deliberately inflict the moſt exquiſite* " *tortures on thoſe tyrants, would they not be excuſable* in the " moral judgment of thoſe who properly value thoſe ineſti- " mable bleſſings rational and religious liberty *(a)*?"

Besides diſtributing pamphlets of this complexion *gratis*, at the doors of all the churches and places of worſhip in the kingdom, and throughout the colonies, the ſociety, or perſons in their name, cauſed a medal to be ſtruck, containing the figure

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(a) This is a fair extract from a letter addreſſed to Granville Sharp, Eſq; chairman of the ſociety in the Old Jury, by the Reverend Percival Stockdale, A. M. Of ſuch writers the planters may well exclaim, " *Forgive them, they know not what* " *they do!*" The ſame ejaculation I applied to the learned and pious Samuel Johnſon, who poſſeſſed a negro ſervant, and before whom he frequently gave as a toaſt, " *A ſpeedy rebellion of the negroes in Jamaica, and ſucceſs to them!*"

of a naked negro, loaded with chains, and in the attitude of imploring mercy; thouſands of which alſo were diſperſed among the negroes in each of the ſugar iſlands, for the inſtruction, I preſume, of ſuch of them as could not read; but, unhappily, this inſtance of provident caution was not requiſite; for ſo many negro domeſticks return annually from Europe to the Weſt Indies, as conſtantly furniſh a ſufficient number of living inſtructors; and certain it is (I pronounce it from my own knowledge reſpecting Jamaica) that the labours of the ſociety on their behalf, as well as many of the moſt violent ſpeeches in the Britiſh parliament, wherein the whole body of planters were painted as a herd of blood-thirſty and remorſeleſs tyrants, were explained to the negro ſlaves, in terms well adapted to their capacities, and ſuited, as might have been ſuppoſed, to their feelings. It will be difficult to ſay what other meaſures the Old Jewry aſſociates could have taken to excite a rebellion, except that of furniſhing the objects of their ſolicitude with fire arms and ammunition.

Hitherto, this ſociety had ſerved as a model and exemplar to that of Paris; but a diſpoſition to ſtop at half meaſures conſtitutes no part of the French character; and the ſociety of *Amis des Noirs* reſorted, without ſcruple, to thoſe meaſures which their fellow labourers in London ſtill heſitated to adopt: beginning with the claſs of free mulattoes, becauſe they found many of them in France, who became the willing inſtruments of their purpoſes; and who undertook to interpret to the negroes in the French colonies the wiſhes and good intentions towards them of their friends in the mother-country.

Thus

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Thus an opening was made towards conciliation and union between the two claſſes. The negroes, believing that it was only through the agency of the mulattoes, and the connections of thoſe people in France, they could obtain a regular ſupply of arms and ammunition, forgot or ſuſpended their ancient animoſities; and the men of colour, ſenſible that nothing but the co-operation of the enſlaved negroes (docile, as they ſuppoſed them to be, from their ignorance, and irreſiſtible from their numbers) could give ſucceſs to their cauſe, courted them with ſuch aſſiduity as gained over at leaſt nine-tenths of all the ſlaves in the Northern province of St. Domingo.

There ſeems however to have been ſome apprehenſions entertained by the leading men among the *Amis des Noirs*, that the decree of the national aſſembly of the 15th of May, confined as the benefits of it were to the people of colour excluſively, (and of thoſe, to ſuch only as were born of free parents) might give riſe to jealouſies and ſuſpicions, deſtructive of that unanimity between the different claſſes, the maintenance of which was an object of the laſt importance. To obviate any miſapprehenſions on this account, as well as to keep the mulattoes firm to their purpoſe, the Abbé Gregoire wrote and publiſhed his celebrated circular letter;—a performance which, if the intentions of the writer had been as pure as his expreſſions are eloquent, would have reflected luſtre on his abilities *(b)*. What effect this diſtinguiſhed piece of oratory may have had on the rugged and unenlightened minds of ſavage people, I pretend

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(b) The reader will find a tranſlation of this letter at the end of the preſent Chapter.

not to aſcertain. It is certain, that the Abbé Gregoire was conſidered by the negroes in St. Domingo as their great advocate and patron; a ſort of guardian angel or tutelary deity; of the good effects of whoſe benevolent interpoſition and friendly offices their maſters unjuſtly deprived them, and on whoſe ſupport and aſſiſtance they might confidently rely, in the attempt, through rebellion and murder, to obtain juſtice for themſelves.

Both claſſes of people being thus inſtructed and prepared, the decree of the 15th of May was the ſignal of revolt, the warhoop of maſſacre. From the clamour which it excited amongſt all orders of the whites in St. Domingo (the lower claſſes eſpecially) the people of colour, as I have ſhewn, had reaſon to apprehend that miſchiefs of an extenſive and alarming nature were meditated againſt them. They were thus furniſhed with a plauſible, and, had they meant to have acted ſolely on the defenſive, a juſtifiable cauſe for reſorting to arms; but, unhappily, the ſtrong tide of popular prejudice which prevailed in the mother-country againſt the planters, and the great majority which voted for the fatal decree in the national aſſembly, were circumſtances that inſpired them with ſo dangerous a confidence in their own reſources, as overpowered all conſiderations of prudence, policy, and humanity.

It muſt be conſidered, at the ſame time, that the enſlaved negroes (ignorant and depreſſed as we ſuppoſe them to be) could not poſſibly be unobſervant of theſe combined and concurring circumſtances. They beheld the coloured people in open hoſtility againſt the whites. They were aſſured, that the former had the fulleſt ſupport and encouragement from the ſupreme

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preme legiſlature of the mother-country. They were taught to believe, that themſelves alſo were become the objects of the paternal ſolicitude of the king and the national aſſembly, who wiſhed to reſcue them from the dominion of their maſters, and inveſt them with their eſtates. It appeared from indiſputable evidence, that aſſurances of this nature were held out to the enſlaved negroes;—aſſurances which could not but excite their attention, awaken their faculties, and rouſe them to action. Whoever ſhall calmly deliberate on theſe, and the other facts that have been ſtated, will find no difficulty in accounting for the dreadful extent of this inſurrection; or in aſſigning it to its proper cauſe, and tracing to the fountain-head thoſe rivers of blood which ſtill continue to flow in this unfortunate and devoted colony (c)!

But it is now time to advert to the proceedings which occurred in France, where we left *Gregoire*, *La Fayette*, *Robeſpierre*,

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(c) In September 1791, when the Author was at Cape François, he dined with a large company on board the frigate *la Prudente*, commanded by Monſ. *Joyeuſe* (at preſent a diſtinguiſhed admiral in the ſervice of the new republick, by the name of *Villaret)* when, in the midſt of the entertainment, a loud exclamation from the crew announced *that the gunner was returned.* This man, who had been miſſing ſome weeks, was immediately brought forward, and gave the following account of the cauſe of his abſence. He ſaid that, having gone on ſhore, to collect green meat for the pigs, he was ſurrounded by the rebel negroes, who were about putting him to death, when Jean François, the chief, finding that he was an officer in the king's ſervice, ordered that his life ſhould be ſpared, alledging *that the king was their friend.* They detained him however as a priſoner, and compelled him to load and point their artillery in the attack at M. Gallifet's plantation before-mentioned. On the defeat of the rebels in that engagement, he fortunately made his eſcape from them. Some of the ſhocking enormities and cruelties inflicted by the rebels on their white priſoners, as related in the preceding pages, were committed in this man's preſence.

ſpierre, and the reſt of the ſociety of *Amis des Noirs*, exulting in the triumph they had obtained on the 15th of May; and perhaps waiting, in the ardent hope and expectation, that their obnoxious decree of that date, would produce thoſe very evils which actually reſulted from it. It was not until the beginning of September that information arrived at Paris concerning the reception which the account of this decree had met with in St. Domingo. The tumults, diſorders, and confuſions that it produced there, were now repreſented in the ſtrongeſt colouring, and the loſs of the colony to France was univerſally apprehended. At this time, however, no ſuſpicion was entertained concerning the enſlaved negroes; but a civil war, between the whites and the mulattoes, was believed to be inevitable. The commercial and manufacturing towns, predicting the ruin of their trade and ſhipping, and the loſs of their capitals from exiſting dangers, preſented remonſtrances and petitions to the national aſſembly, urging the neceſſity of an immediate repeal of all the decrees by which the rights of the planters were invaded; that of the 15th of May eſpecially. The conſtituent national aſſembly was now on the point of diſſolution, and perhaps wiſhed to leave every thing in peace. At the ſame time the tide of popular prejudice, which had hitherto ran with ſuch violence againſt the coloniſts, was beginning to turn. Moſt of thoſe members whoſe opinions in colonial concerns, a few months before, had guided the deliberations of the national aſſembly, were now either ſilently diſregarded, or treated with outrage;—a ſtrong and ſtriking proof of the lightneſs and verſatility of the French character. At length, a motion was made to annul the obnoxious decree, and (ſtrange to tell!) on the

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the 24th of September its repeal was actually voted by a large majority!—At this remarkable change of ſentiment in the ſupreme legiſlature, it is neceſſary to pauſe, and remind the reader of what was doing at the ſame time in St. Domingo; where as we have ſeen, on the 11th of that very month, the *concordat*, or truce, took place between the people of colour and the white inhabitants of Port au Prince; and on the 20th, the colonial aſſembly at Cape François publiſhed the proclamation mentioned in the latter part of the preceding Chapter. Thus, almoſt in the very moment when the juſtice and neceſſity of the decree were acknowledged, and its faithful obſervance promiſed, by the colonial aſſembly, its repeal was pronounced by the national legiſlature in the mother-country!

To ſuch repugnancy and abſurdity muſt every government be driven that attempts to regulate and direct the local concerns of a country three thouſand miles diſtant. Of the two meaſures that have been mentioned, it is difficult to ſay which produced the greateſt calamities; the decree of the 15th of May in the firſt inſtance; or its unexpected repeal, at the time and in the manner related! Doubts had already ariſen in the minds of the mulattoes concerning the ſincerity and good faith of the white people, with reſpect to the *concordat*. Their ſuſpicions and apprehenſions had indeed grown to ſuch a height, as to induce them to inſiſt on a renewal and confirmation of its proviſions; which were accordingly granted them, by a new inſtrument, or treaty, of the 11th of October, and a ſupplementary agreement of the 20th of the ſame month: but no ſooner was authentick information received of the proceedings in

France, in the repeal of the decree, than all truſt and confidence, and every hope of reconciliation and amity between the two claſſes, vaniſhed for ever. It was not poſſible to perſuade the mulattoes that the planters in the colony were innocent, and ignorant of the tranſaction. They accuſed the whites of the moſt horrid duplicity, faithleſsneſs and treachery; and publickly declared that one party or the other, themſelves or the whites, muſt be utterly deſtroyed and exterminated:—There was no longer, they ſaid, an alternative.

In this diſpoſition, exaſperated to frenzy, the coloured people throughout the Weſtern and Southern provinces flew to arms. In the Southern province, a body of them became maſters of Port St. Louis; but the inhabitants of Port-au-Prince having been reinforced, a ſhort time before, by the arrival of ſome troops from Europe, were better prepared, and drove the revolters from the city with great ſlaughter. They took poſt in the pariſh of *Croix des Bouquets*; but found means, however, before their retreat, to ſet fire to the city, and a dreadful conflagration enſued, in which more than one-third of the buildings were conſumed.

Open war, and war in all its horrors, was now renewed. All the ſoft workings of humanity—what our great dramatick poet calls the *compunctious viſitings of nature*—were now abſorbed in the raging and inſatiable thirſt of revenge, which inflamed each claſs alike. It was no longer a conteſt for mere victory, but a diabolical emulation which party could inflict the moſt abominable cruelties on the other. The enſlaved negroes in

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in the diſtrict called *Cul-de-Sac* having joined the mulattoes, a bloody engagement took place, in which the negroes, being ranged in front, and acting without any kind of diſcipline, left two thouſand of their number dead on the field. Of the mulattoes about fifty were killed, and ſeveral taken priſoners. The whites claimed the victory; but for want of cavalry were unable to improve it by a purſuit, and contented themſelves with ſatiating their revenge on their captives. Every refinement in cruelty that the moſt depraved imagination could ſuggeſt, was practiſed on the perſons of thoſe wretched men. One of the mulatto leaders was unhappily among the number: him the victors placed on an elevated ſeat in a cart, and ſecured him in it by driving large ſpiked nails through his feet into the boards. In this condition he was led a miſerable ſpectacle through the city. His bones were afterwards broken, and he was then thrown alive into the flames!

THE mulattoes ſcorned to be outdone in deeds of vengeance, and atrocities ſhameful to humanity. In the neighbourhood of *Jeremie* a body of them attacked the houſe of M. Sejourné, and ſecured the perſons both of him and his wife. This unfortunate woman (my hand trembles while I write!) was far advanced in her pregnancy. The monſters, whoſe priſoner ſhe was, having firſt murdered her huſband in her preſence, ripped her up alive, and threw the infant to the hogs.—They then (how ſhall I relate it!) ſewed up the head of the murdered huſband in——!!!—Such are thy triumphs, philanthropy.

With theſe enormities terminated the diſaſtrous year 1791. Juſt before Chriſtmas the three civil commiſſioners nominated by the national aſſembly for St. Domingo, arrived at Cape François. Much was expected from their appointment by the friends of peace and good order; but the ſequel will ſhew that they effected very little towards reſtoring the peace of the country.

Tranſlation of the Letter of ABBÉ GREGOIRE, *Biſhop of the Department of Loire and Cher, Deputy of the National Aſſembly, to the Citizens of Colour in the French Weſt Indies, concerning the Decree of the 15th of May* 1791.

" FRIENDS!

" YOU *were* MEN;—you *are* now CITIZENS. Reinſtated in the fulneſs of your rights, you will, in future, participate of the ſovereignty of the people. The decree which the national aſſembly has juſt publiſhed reſpecting you, is not *a favour*; for a favour is *a privilege:* and a privilege to one claſs of people is an injury to all the reſt.—They are words which will no longer diſgrace the laws of the French.

" In ſecuring to you the exerciſe of your political rights, we have acquitted ourſelves of a *debt:*—not to have paid it, would have been a crime on our part, and a diſgrace to the conſtitution.

The

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The legiſlators of a free nation certainly could not do leſs for you than our ancient deſpots have done.

"It is now above a century ago that Louis XIV ſolemnly acknowledged and proclaimed your rights; but of this ſacred inheritance you have been defrauded by pride and avarice, which have gradually increaſed your burthens, and embittered your exiſtence.

"The regeneration of the French empire opened your hearts to hope, whoſe cheering influence has alleviated the weight of your miſeries: miſeries of which the people of Europe had no idea. While the white planters reſident among us were loud in their complaints againſt *miniſterial* tyranny, they took eſpecial care to be ſilent *as to their own*. Not a hint was ſuggeſted concerning the complaints of the unhappy people of mixed blood; who, notwithſtanding, are their own children. It is *we*, who, at the diſtance of two thouſand leagues from you, have been conſtrained to protect thoſe children againſt the neglect, the contempt, the unnatural cruelty of their fathers!

"But it is in vain that they have endeavoured to ſuppreſs the juſtice of your claims. Your groans, notwithſtanding the extent of the ocean which ſeparates us, have reached the hearts of the European Frenchmen;—for *they* have *hearts*.

"God Almighty comprehends all men in the circle of his mercy. His love makes no diſtinction between them, but what ariſes from the different degrees of their virtues. Can laws then, which ought to be an emanation of eternal juſtice, encourage ſo culpable a partiality? Can that government, whoſe duty it is to protect alike all the members of the ſame great family, be the mother of one branch, and the ſtep-mother only of the others?

"No, gentlemen:—you could not eſcape the ſolicitude of the national aſſembly. In unfolding to the eyes of the univerſe the great charter of nature, your titles were traced. An attempt had indeed been made to expunge them; but happily they are written in characters as indelible as the ſacred image of the Deity, which is graven on your countenances.

"Already had the national aſſembly, in the inſtructions which it prepared for the government of the colonies, on the 28th of March 1790, comprized both the whites and people of colour under one common denomination. Your enemies, in aſſerting the contrary, have publiſhed a falſehood. It is inconteſtibly true, that when I demanded you ſhould be expreſsly named, a great number of members, among whom were ſeveral planters, eagerly exclaimed, that you were already comprehended under the general words contained in thoſe inſtructions. M. Barnave himſelf, upon my repeated appeals to him on that head, has at length acknowledged, before the whole aſſembly, that this was the fact. It now appears how much reaſon I had to apprehend that a falſe conſtruction would be put upon our decree!

"New oppreſſions on the part of your maſters, and new miſeries on yours, until at length the cup of affliction is filled even to the brim, have but too well juſtified my apprehenſions. The letters which I have received from you upon this head, have forced tears from my eyes. Poſterity will learn, with aſtoniſhment and indignation, that a cauſe like yours, the juſtice of which is ſo evident, was made the ſubject of debate for no leſs than five days ſucceſſively. Alas! when humanity is obliged to ſtruggle ſo

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ſo long againſt vanity and prejudice, its triumph is dearly obtained!

"It is a long time that the ſociety of *Amis des Noirs* have employed themſelves in finding out the means to ſoften your lot as well as that of the ſlaves. It is difficult—perhaps impoſſible—to do good with entire impunity. The meritorious zeal of this ſociety has drawn upon them much obloquy. Deſpicable writers have lanced their poiſonous ſhafts at them, and impudent libels have never ceaſed to repeat objections and calumnies, which have been a hundred times anſwered and refuted. How often have we been accuſed of being ſold to the Engliſh, and of being paid by them for ſending you inflammatory writings and arms? You know, my friends, the weakneſs and wickedneſs of theſe charges. We have inceſſantly recommended to you attachment to your country, reſignation and patience, while waiting the return of juſtice! Nothing has been able to cool our zeal, or that of your brethren of mixed blood who are at Paris. M. Raimond, in particular, has devoted himſelf moſt heroically to your defence. With what tranſport would you have ſeen this diſtinguiſhed citizen, at the bar of the national aſſembly (of which he ought to be a member) laying before it the affecting picture of your miſeries, and ſtrenuouſly claiming your rights! If that aſſembly had ſacrificed them, it would have tarniſhed its glory. It was its duty to decree with juſtice, to explain itſelf clearly, and cauſe its laws to be executed with firmneſs: it has done ſo; and if (which God forbid!) ſome event, hidden in the womb of futurity, ſhould tear our colonies from us, would it not be better to have a loſs to deplore, than an injuſtice to reproach ourſelves with?

" CITIZENS! raiſe once more your humiliated countenances, and to the dignity of men, aſſociate the courage and nobleneſs of a free people. The 15th of May, the day in which you recovered your rights, ought to be for ever memorable to you and to your children. This epoch will periodically awaken in you ſentiments of gratitude towards the Supreme Being; and may your accents aſcend to the vault of heaven, towards which your grateful hands will be extended! At length you have a country. Hereafter you will ſee nothing above you but the law; while the opportunity of concurring in the framing it, will aſſure to you that indefeaſible right of all mankind, the right of obeying yourſelves only.

" You have a country: and it will no longer be a land of exile, where you meet none but tyrants on the one hand, and companions in misfortune on the other; the former diſtributing, and the latter receiving, contempt and outrage. The groans of your afflictions were puniſhed as the clamours of rebellion; and ſituated between the uplifted poinard, and certain death, thoſe unhappy countries were often moiſtened with your tears, and ſometimes ſtained with your blood.

" You have a country: and happineſs will ſhine on the ſeat of your nativity. You will now enjoy in peace the fruits of the fields which you have cultivated without compulſion. Then will be filled up that interval, which, placing at an immenſe diſtance from each other, the children of the ſame father, has ſuppreſſed the voice of nature, and broke the bands of fraternity aſunder. Then will the chaſte enjoyments of conjugal union take place of thoſe vile ſallies of debauchery, by which the majeſty of moral ſentiment has been inſulted. By what ſtrange perverſion of reaſon can it be deemed diſgraceful in a white man to marry a black or mulatto woman, when it is not thought diſhonourable in him to be connected with her in the moſt licentious familiarity!

"The leſs real worth a man poſſeſſes, the more he ſeeks to avail himſelf of the appearances of virtue. What can be more abſurd than to make the merit of a perſon to conſiſt in different ſhades of the ſkin, or in a complexion more or leſs ſallow? The man who thinks at all muſt ſometimes bluſh at being a man, when he ſees his fellow-creatures blinded by ſuch ridiculous prejudices; but as, unfortunately, pride is one of thoſe failings we moſt unwillingly part with, the empire of prejudice is the moſt difficult to ſubvert: man appears to be unable to arrive at truth, until he has exhauſted his ſtrength in travelling through the different paths of error.

"This prejudice againſt the mulattoes and negroes has however no exiſtence in our Eaſtern colonies. Nothing can be more affecting than the eulogium made on the people of colour by the inhabitants of that part of the world, in the inſtructions given by them, to thoſe they have appointed their deputies to the national aſſembly. The members of the academy of ſciences pride themſelves in reckoning a mulatto of the Iſle of France in the number of their correſpondents. Among ourſelves, a worthy negro is a ſuperior officer of the diſtrict of St. Hypolite, in the department of Gard. We do not conceive that a difference of colour can be the foundation of different rights among members of the ſame political ſociety. It is therefore we find no ſuch deſpicable pride among our brave national guards, who offer themſelves to embark for the Weſt

Indies to inſure the execution of our decrees. Perfectly concurring in the laudable ſentiments manifeſted by the inhabitants of Bourdeaux, they acknowledge with them, that the decree reſpecting the people of colour, framed under the auſpices of prudence and wiſdom, is an homage rendered to reaſon and juſtice. While the deputies from the colonies have endeavoured to calumniate your intentions, and thoſe of the mercantile part of the nation, the conduct of thoſe deputies is perfectly contradictory. Ardently ſoliciting their own admiſſion among us at Verſailles; ſwearing with us in the Tennis Court not to ſeparate from us, until the conſtitution ſhould be eſtabliſhed, and then declaring, when the decree of the 15th of May was paſſed, that they could no longer continue to ſit with us! This deſertion is a deſertion of their principles, and a breach of their ſolemn oaths.

"All thoſe white inhabitants of the colonies who are worthy the name of Frenchmen, have haſtened to abjure ſuch ridiculous prejudices, and have promiſed to regard you in future as brothers and friends. With what delightful ſenſations do we cite the words of the citizens of Jacmel: 'We ſwear to 'obey, without reſerve, the decrees of the national aſſembly 'reſpecting our preſent and future conſtitution, and even ſuch 'of them as may ſubſtantially change it!' The citizens of Port au Prince tell the national aſſembly the ſame thing, in different words: 'Condeſcend, gentlemen,' ſay they, 'to receive the oath which the municipality has taken to you, in the 'name of the commons of Port au Prince, punctually to obey 'and execute all your decrees, and never to ſwerve from them 'in any reſpect whatſoever.'

"Thus

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" Thus has philoſophy enlarged its horizon in the new world, and ſoon will abſurd prejudices have no other ſupporters than a few inferior tyrants, who wiſh to perpetuate in America, the reign of that deſpotiſm which has been aboliſhed in France.

" What would theſe men have ſaid, if the people of colour had endeavoured to deprive the whites of *their* political advantages? With what energy would they not have exclaimed at ſuch an oppreſſion! Inflamed into madneſs at finding that your rights have been pointed out to you, their irritated pride may perhaps lead them to make every effort to render our decrees ineffectual. They will probably endeavour to raiſe ſuch diſturbances, as, by wreſting the colonies from the mother-country, will enable them to defraud their creditors of their juſt debts. They have inceſſantly alarmed us with threats that St. Domingo will be loſt, if juſtice be rendered to you. In this aſſertion we have found nothing but falſehood: we pleaſe ourſelves in the belief, that our decree will draw the bands ſtill cloſer which unite you to the mother country. Your patriotiſm, your intereſt, and your affections, will concur in inducing you to confine your commercial connections to France only; and the reciprocal tributes of induſtry will eſtabliſh between her and her colonies a conſtant interchange of riches and good offices. If you act unfaithfully towards France, you will be the baſeſt and moſt abandoned of the human race. But no! generous citizens, you will not become traitors to your country: you ſhudder at the idea. Rallied, with all other good Frenchmen, around the ſtandard of liberty, you will defend our glorious conſtitution. The day ſhall arrive, when the repreſentatives of the people of colour will croſs the ocean to take their ſeats with us, and ſwear to live and die under our laws. The day ſhall arrive among you when the ſun will ſhine on none but freemen; when the rays of light ſhall no longer fall on the fetters of ſlavery. It is true, the national aſſembly has not yet raiſed the condition of the enſlaved negroes to a level with your ſituation; becauſe ſuddenly granting the rights, to thoſe who are ignorant of the duties of citizens, might perhaps have been a fatal preſent to them: but forget not, that they, like yourſelves, are born to freedom and perfect equality. It is in the irreſiſtible courſe of things that all nations, whoſe liberty has been invaded, ſhall recover that precious portion of their indefeaſible inheritance!

"You are accuſed of treating you ſlaves much worſe than the whites: but, alas! ſo various have been the detractions with which you have been aſperſed, that it would be weakneſs in us to credit the charge. If, however, there be any foundation for what has been advanced on this head, ſo conduct yourſelves in future as to prove it will be a ſhameful calumny hereafter.

"Your oppreſſors have heretofore endeavoured to hide from their ſlaves the light of chriſtianity, becauſe the religion of mildneſs, equality, and liberty, ſuits not with ſuch bloodthirty men. May *your* conduct be the reverſe of *theirs*. Univerſal love is the language of the goſpel; your paſtors will make it heard among you. Open your hearts to receive this divine ſyſtem of morality. We have mitigated *your* misfortunes; alleviate, on your part, thoſe of the unhappy victims of avarice, who moiſten your fields with their ſweat, and often with their tears. Let the exiſtence of your ſlaves be no longer their torment; but by your kind treatment of them, expiate the crimes of Europe!

"By leading them on progreſſively to liberty, you will fulfil a duty: you will prepare for yourſelves the moſt comfortable reflections: you will do honour to humanity, and inſure the proſperity of the colonies. Such will be your conduct towards your brethren, the negroes; but what ought it to be towards your fathers, the whites? Doubtleſs you will be permitted to ſhed tears over the aſhes of *Ferrand de Baudiere*, and the unfortunate *Ogé*, aſſaſſinated under the forms of law, and dying on the wheel for having wiſhed to be free! But may he among you periſh, who ſhall dare to entertain an idea of revenge againſt your perſecutors! They are already delivered over to the ſtings of their own conſciences, and covered with eternal infamy. The abhorrence in which they are held by the preſent race of minkind, only precedes the execration of poſterity. Bury then in eternal oblivion every ſentiment of hatred, and taſte the delicious pleaſure of conferring benefits on your oppreſſors. Repreſs even too marked expreſſions of your joy, which, in cauſing them to reflect on their own injuſtice towards you, will make their remorſe ſtill more pungent.

"Strictly obedient to the laws, teach your children to reſpect them. By a careful education, inſtruct them in all the duties of morality; ſo ſhall you prepare for the ſucceeding generation, virtuous citizens, honourable men, enlightened patriots, and defenders of their country!

"How will their hearts be affected when, conducting them to your ſhores, you direct their looks towards France, telling them, ‘beyond thoſe ſeas is your parent country; it is from ‘thence we have received juſtice, protection, happineſs, and ‘liberty. There dwell our fellow citizens, our brethren, and ‘our friends: to them we have ſworn an eternal friendſhip. ‘Heirs of our ſentiments, and of our affections, may your ‘hearts and your lips repeat our oaths! Live to love them; ‘and, if neceſſary, die to defend them!’

“Signed,
GREGOIRE.”

“Paris, 8th June, 1791.”

CHAP. VIII.

Reception and Proceedings of the Civil Commiſſioners, and their Return to France—National Decree of the 4th of April 1792—Appointment of a new Governor (Monſ. Deſparbes) and three other Commiſſioners (Santhonax, Polverel, and Ailhaud)—Their Embarkation and Arrival, with a ſelect Body of Troops—Their violent Proceedings—Appointment, by the Executive Council, of M. Galbaud as Chief Governor, in the room of Deſparbes—His Arrival, and Diſputes with the Commiſſioners—Both Parties proceed to hoſtilities—The revolted Negroes called in to the Aſſiſtance of the Commiſſioners—A general Maſſacre of the White Inhabitants, and Conflagration of the Town of Cape François.

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THE civil commiſſioners who were to reſtore peace and ſubordination in St. Domingo, and whoſe arrival there was noticed in the laſt Chapter, were named Mirbeck, Roome, and St. Leger. Mirbeck and Roome had formerly been known as advocates in the parliaments of Paris; and St. Leger, who was a native of Ireland, had practiſed many years in France as a ſurgeon. Although the confuſion of the times had elevated theſe men to power, not one of them was diſtinguiſhed for extraordinary abilities, and their rank in life was not ſuch as to command any great degree of conſideration from the planters. They were received however, from reſpect to their appointment, with politeneſs and ſubmiſſion, both by the governor and the inhabitants. Military honours were ſhewn them, and they were led in publick proceſſion to the cathedral, where the bleſſing of the Almighty was devoutly implored for ſucceſs to their miſſion.

THEIR firſt proceeding, after announcing the new conſtitution and form of government for the mother country, as confirmed by the king, was to publiſh the decree of the 24th of September 1791, by which the fatal decree of the 15th of May was annulled. So far all was well: but a few days afterwards they took upon them to proclaim a general amneſty and pardon to ſuch people, of all deſcriptions, as ſhould lay down their arms, and come in, within a certain preſcribed time, and take the oaths required by the new conſtitution. This meaſure loſt them the confidence of all the white inhabitants: a general amneſty to the men of colour and revolted ſlaves, was conſidered as a juſtification of the moſt horrible enormities, and as holding out a dangerous example to ſuch of the negroes as preſerved their fidelity; and it loſt its effect on the mulattoes, by being accompanied with a repeal of their favourite decree. With what contempt and indignity it was received by the latter, the following circumſtance will demonſtrate. At *Petit Goave*, the mulattoes were maſters, and held in cloſe confinement thirty-four white perſons, whom they reſerved for vengeance. On the publication of this amneſty, they led them to execution: but inſtead of putting them to immediate death, they cauſed each of them to be broken alive; and in the midſt of their tortures, read to them, in a ſtrain of diabolical mockery,

ery, the proclamation aloud; affecting to conſider it as a pardon for the cruelties they had juſt committed.

The unlimited and indefinite authority which the commiſſioners ſeemed to claim, alarmed the colonial aſſembly, who deſired to be informed of the nature and extent of their powers. To this requeſt no ſatisfactory anſwer being given, the commiſſioners loſt ground in the publick opinion daily; and their perſonal conduct, as individuals, contributed by no means to acquire them reſpect. Mirbeck ſpent the greateſt part of his time in the practice of low debauchery, giving indulgence to his vicious propenſities without reſtraint or decency. St. Leger conſidered his appointment as an authority to exact money, in which he was little ſcrupulous, and laid the few mulatto people who remained faithful, under a moſt unmerciful contribution. Roome alone conducted himſelf without reproach: he was a well-meaning inoffenſive man, and attempted, though without effect, to act the part of a mediator between the different factions which deſolated the country. This praiſe at leaſt was given him—*that if he did no good, he did no harm.*

After a ſhort ſtay at Cape François, the commiſſioners viſited other parts of the colony; but finding themſelves every where very lightly regarded, and having no troops to ſupport their authority, they returned ſeparately to France in the months of March and April.

Troops however, as I have obſerved, had arrived from France to the number in the whole of about four thouſand; but,

in

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in the ſpirit of the times, they manifeſted very little obedience either to the civil commiſſioners, or the governor of the colony; yet they ſerved as a check to the revolters, who would otherwiſe, in all probability, before this time, have become maſters both of Cape François and Port au Prince. In the Northern province, the rebel negroes indeed were ſuppoſed to be conſiderably reduced by diſeaſe and famine. Having deſtroyed all the proviſion grounds, and devoured the cattle of all kinds on the plain of the Cape, they had now taken poſſeſſion of the ſurrounding mountainous diſtricts, and were compelled by their chief leader, *Jean François*, a negro of great ſagacity, to plant proviſions for their future ſubſiſtence; a meaſure which has kept the flames of rebellion alive to the preſent hour.

In the mean time, the ſtate of publick affairs in the mother country was tending to a great and ominous change. Ever ſince the flight and ſeizure of their unhappy king, in the month of June 1791, the faction was hourly increaſing in numbers which was ſoon to lay the kingdom in ruins, and bring the monarch himſelf to the ſcaffold. The Jacobin party, headed by a blood-thirſty triumvirate *(a)*, were becoming all-powerful; and the ſociety of *Amis des Noirs* had once more acquired a fatal aſcendancy in the legiſlative body. On the 29th of February, one of them, named *Garan de Coulon*, after a long and inflammatory harangue againſt the planters in general, propoſed the form of a decree for abrogating that of the 24th of September, declaring a general amneſty throughout all the French colonies; and enacting, that new colonial aſſemblies ſhould

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(*a*) Danton, Robeſpierre, and Marat.

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ſhould be formed, which ſhould tranſmit their ſentiments not only on the ſubject of the internal government of the colonies, *but alſo on the beſt method of effecting the abolition of negro ſlavery* IN TOTO.

FRANTICK as the new legiſlature *(b)* had ſhewn itſelf on many occaſions ſince its firſt meeting, a majority could not at this time be found to vote for ſo ſenſeleſs and extravagant a propoſition; but in about two months afterwards, this aſſembly paſſed the famous decree of the 4th of April 1792, of which it is neceſſary the reader ſhould be furniſhed with a copy at large; and it is conceived in the words following:

"THE national aſſembly acknowledges and declares, that the people of colour and free negroes in the colonies ought to enjoy an equality of political rights with the whites; in conſequence of which it decrees as follows:

ARTICLE 1ſt. Immediately after the publication of the preſent decree, the inhabitants of each of the French colonies in the Windward and Leeward Iſlands, ſhall proceed to the re-election of colonial and parochial aſſemblies, after the mode preſcribed by the decree of the 8th of March 1790, and the inſtructions of the national aſſembly of the 28th of the ſame month.

(b) The former aſſembly is generally known by the name of the *Conſtituent* Aſſembly. The new one met the 1ſt of October 1791, and called itſelf the Firſt *Legiſlative* Aſſembly.

2d. The people of colour and free negroes ſhall be admitted to vote in all the primary and electoral aſſemblies, and ſhall be eligible to the legiſlature and all places of truſt, provided they poſſeſs the qualifications preſcribed by the 4th article of the aforeſaid inſtructions.

3d. Three civil commiſſioners ſhall be named for the colony of St. Domingo, and four for the iſlands of Martinico, Guadaloupe, St. Lucia, and Tobago, to ſee this decree enforced.

4th. The ſaid commiſſioners ſhall be authorized to diſſolve the preſent colonial aſſemblies; to take every meaſure neceſſary for accelerating the convocation of the primary and electoral aſſemblies, and therein to eſtabliſh union, order, and peace: as well as to determine proviſionally (reſerving the power of appeal to the national aſſembly) upon every queſtion which may ariſe concerning the regularity of convocations, the holding of aſſemblies, the form of elections, and the eligibility of citizens.

5th. They are alſo authorized to procure every information poſſible, in order to diſcover the authors of the troubles in St. Domingo, and the continuance thereof, if they ſtill continue; to ſecure the perſons of the guilty, and to ſend them over to France, there to be put in a ſtate of accuſation, &c.

6th. The ſaid civil commiſſioners ſhall be directed for this purpoſe to tranſmit to the national aſſembly minutes of their proceedings, and of the evidence they may have collected concerning the perſons accuſed as aforeſaid.

7th. The national aſſembly authorizes the civil commiſſioners to call forth the publick force whenever they may think it neceſſary, either for their own protection, or for the execution of ſuch orders as they may iſſue by virtue of the preceding articles.

8th. The executive power is directed to ſend a ſufficient force to the colonies, to be compoſed chiefly of national guards.

9th. The colonial aſſemblies, immediately after their formation, ſhall ſignify, in the name of each colony reſpectively, their ſentiments reſpecting that conſtitution, thoſe laws, and the adminiſtration of them, which will beſt promote the proſperity and happineſs of the people; conforming themſelves, neverthelеſs, to thoſe general principles by which the colonies and mother country are connected together, and by which their reſpective intereſts are beſt ſecured, agreeably to the decree of the 8th of March 1790, and inſtructions of the 28th of the ſame month.

10th. The colonial aſſemblies are authorized to ſend home delegates for the purpoſes mentioned in the preceding article, in numbers proportionate to the population of each colony; which proportion ſhall be forthwith determined by the national aſſembly, according to the report which its colonial committee is directed to make.

11th. Former decrees reſpecting the colonies ſhall be in force in every thing not contrary to the preſent decree."

It may be ſuppoſed that the men who (rejecting all pretenſions to conſiſtency, and deſpiſing the leſſons of experience) firſt propoſed this decree, and finally prevailed in carrying it through the legiſlative aſſembly, had duly conſidered of the means for enſuring its execution in the colonies, and were provided with fit inſtruments for that purpoſe. The new commiſſioners nominated for St. Domingo were Meſſrs. Santhonax, Polverel, and Ailhaud, all of them among the moſt violent of the Jacobin faction; and it was reſolved to furniſh them with ſuch a force as (if properly employed) would, it was alledged, not only eſtabliſh their authority, but put a ſpeedy end to all the diſturbances which had ſo long afflicted and deſolated the colony. Six thouſand men, ſelected with great circumſpection, from the national guards, with officers whoſe principles were well-known to their employers, were accordingly ordered to embark forthwith for St. Domingo. M. Blanchelande, the governor-general, was recalled, and a new commiſſion of commander in chief given to a Monſ. Deſparbes.

Thus appointed and provided, the civil commiſſioners and the new governor, accompanied by a fleet of thirty tranſports, took their departure from France in the month of July, probably in much the ſame diſpoſition of mind towards the coloniſts, as was manifeſted by the Duke D'Alva and his Spaniſh and Italian troops in 1568, towards the inhabitants of the Low Countries. Inflamed like them with a ſpirit of avarice, fanaticiſm, and revenge, they meditated on nothing but on the benefits to ariſe from ſeizure and confiſcation; on ſchemes of miſchief and projects of vengeance.

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They landed at Cape François on the 13th of September, and finding M. Blanchelande at great variance with the colonial aſſembly, the commiſſioners took the ſhorteſt courſe poſſible to terminate the diſpute, by forthwith diſſolving the aſſembly and ſending the unfortunate Blanchelande a ſtate priſoner to France, where, as to be accuſed was to be condemned, he ſoon afterwards periſhed by the guillotine (c).

Dismay and terror now prevailed throughout the colony. Delegates were ſent to the civil commiſſioners from all quarters, to demand an expoſure and explanation of their views and intentions. Suſpicions were already gone forth concerning the project, which the commiſſioners afterwards avowed, of declaring a general emancipation of the negro ſlaves; and all parties, as well among the republicans as the royaliſts, concurred on this occaſion in reprobating the folly and iniquity of the meaſure. So general was the clamour on this account, that if a firm and extenſive coalition of intereſts among the planters could at this time have been effected, it is probable the commiſſioners might have found that all the force they had brought with them would have proved inſufficient for the purpoſes which they meditated. Diſſimulation therefore was thought neceſſary for the preſent. They declared (and confirmed the declaration with the ſolemnity of an oath) that they had no wiſh nor intention to make any change in the ſyſtem of colonial government concerning the ſlaves; avowing the fulleſt conviction that the emancipation of thoſe people, under the then exiſting circumſtances, was impracticable.—Their views, they ſaid, extended no farther than to ſee the decree of the 4th of April, in favour of the free people of colour, properly enforced; to reduce the ſlaves in rebellion to obedience, and to ſettle the future government and tranquility of the colony on a ſolid and permanent foundation.

(c) 7th April 1793.

These, and ſimilar, declarations ſilenced, though they did not ſatisfy, the white inhabitants; who ſoon perceived, with unavailing indignation, that the commiſſioners held ſecret communications with the chiefs of the mulattoes in all parts of the colony. By the co-operation of thoſe people, the commiſſioners ſoon found their ſtrength ſufficient to avow themſelves openly the patrons and protectors of the whole body of the free negroes and mulattoes: and they now made no ſcruple of ſeizing the perſons and effects of all ſuch of the whites as oppoſed their projects; ſending great numbers of them in a ſtate of arreſt to Europe, to anſwer before the national aſſembly to the accuſations which they pretended to tranſmit againſt them. Among the perſons thus impriſoned and tranſported to France, were comprehended the colonel, lieutenant-colonel, and many other officers of the Cape regiment.

The white inhabitants now called aloud for the election of a new colonial aſſembly, and hoped that the neceſſity of levying taxes would induce the commiſſioners to iſſue orders for that purpoſe; but inſtead of complying with the publick requeſt, they ſubſtituted what was called *une commiſſion intermediaire*, by nominating twelve perſons, ſix of whom had been members of the laſt aſſembly, to act as a ſort of legiſlative council: the other

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ſix were mulattoes. To this motley board, the commiſſioners delegated authority to raiſe money from the inhabitants; reſerving to themſelves, however, the right of appropriating and expending it, as they alone ſhould think proper.

In the meanwhile, the new governor (Deſparbes) began to manifeſt ſome ſigns of diſſatisfaction and impatience. He complained that he was conſidered as a mere cypher in the government, or rather as an inſtrument in the commiſſioners' hands. His complaints were anſwered by a reſolution to arreſt his perſon; and he avoided the fate of his predeceſſor, Monſ. Blanchelande, only by a ſpeedy flight from the colony.

Two members out of the ſix whites that compoſed a moiety of the *commiſſion intermediaire*, met with ſimilar treatment. They ventured to offer their opinion on a meaſure of finance, in oppoſition to that of M. Santhonax. The commiſſioners commended their frankneſs, and M. Santhonax invited them to a ſupper. The invitation was accepted; but at the hour appointed, they found themſelves ſurrounded by a detachment of the military, which conveyed them to very ſorry entertainment in the hold of a ſhip, and there left them as ſtate priſoners *(d)*.

The commiſſioners, in the next place, fell out among themſelves; and Santhonax and Polverel determined to get quit of

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(*d*) To one of theſe gentlemen I am indebted for more valuable and extenſive information than I have been able to collect through any other channel. In his voyage to Europe, the ſhip in which he was confined was (fortunately for him) captured by an Engliſh frigate, which brought him to England, where I had the happineſs to render him ſome acceptable ſervice.

their aſſociate Ailhaud. Prudently judging, however, that the publick degradation of one of their own body would reflect ſome degree of ignominy on them all, they perſuaded him to be content with a proportion of the common plunder, and ſilently quit the country. Ailhaud ſubmitted with a good grace to what he could not avoid.

By theſe, and other means, above all by the practice of beſtowing largeſſes on the troops, and the acquiſition of a deſperate band of auxiliaries, compoſed of ſome of the revolted ſlaves, and vagabonds of all colours and deſcriptions, moſtly collected from the jails, Santhonax and Polverel, in the beginning of the year 1793, found themſelves abſolute maſters of the colony. The lives and properties of all the white inhabitants lay at their mercy, and the dreadful ſcenes which were at that time paſſing in the mother country, enabled theſe men to proſecute their purpoſes, and gratify their vindictive and avaricious paſſions, without notice or controul from any ſuperior.

But the tragedy which was acting in France, was no ſooner brought to its cataſtrophe, by the foul murder of their amiable and unoffending ſovereign, and war declared againſt Great Britain and Holland, than the perſons who compoſed what was called the executive council, thought it neceſſary to pay ſome little attention to the ſafety of St. Domingo. Not having however leiſure or inclination to enter into a full inveſtigation of the complaints received from thence, they declined to revoke the powers exerciſed by the civil commiſſioners, and contented themſelves with appointing a new governor, in the room of

M. Deſparbes. Their choice fell on Monſ. Galbaud, an officer of artillery, and a man of fair character, whom they directed to embark for his new government without delay, in one of the national frigates, and put the colony into the beſt ſtate of defence againſt a foreign enemy.

Galbaud, with his ſuite of attendants, landed at Cape François on the 7th of May, 1793, to the great joy of the white inhabitants. At that period, the civil commiſſioners, with moſt of their troops, were employed in the Weſtern province, endeavouring to quell an inſurrection there which their tyranny had created; ſo that Galbaud was received with acclamations and ſubmiſſion by the municipality of the town of the Cape; to whoſe place of meeting he repaired with his attendants, took the neceſſary oaths, and entered on his government without oppoſition. He declared, at the ſame time, that he was not dependent on the civil commiſſioners, nor bound to execute, at all events, their proclamations.

A very quick interchange of letters took place between the new governor and the commiſſioners. He deſired them to repair immediately to the Cape, that he might communicate the inſtructions he had received from the executive council. They anſwered that he was an entire ſtranger to them; that they had ſeen no decree of the national convention by which they themſelves were ſuperſeded, and that being veſted with authority to ſuſpend or appoint a governor, as they alone might think proper, he could only be conſidered as an agent ſubordinate to themſelves:—They added, that they were then aſſembling an army to ſuppreſs a rebellion in the town and neighbourhood of Port au Prince; but as ſoon as that buſineſs was at an end, they would repair to the Cape, and examine into the validity of his pretenſions.

On the 10th of June the civil commiſſioners, having reduced Port au Prince and Jacmel, arrived at the Cape. The ſtreets were lined with troops, and they were received by Galbaud with attention and reſpect. A very ſerious altercation however immediately took place between them, highly diſadvantageous to the governor. There exiſted, it ſeems, a decree of the ancient government, unrepealed by the national aſſembly, enacting that no proprietor of an eſtate in the Weſt Indies ſhould hold the government of a colony wherein his eſtate was ſituated, and M. Galbaud was poſſeſſed of a coffee-plantation in St. Domingo. When therefore he was aſked why he had not acquainted the executive council with this circumſtance, he was utterly diſconcerted and had no reply to make.

On the 13th, the commiſſioners ordered M. Galbaud to embark forthwith on board the ſloop of war La Normande, and return to France. At the ſame time they ſent inſtructions to Monſ. de la Salle, whom they had left commandant at Port au Prince, to repair to the Cape and receive from them, in the name of the French republick, the command of the colony.

The ſeven following days were ſpent on both ſides in intrigues, and preparations for hoſtilities. Galbaud's brother, a man of ſpirit and enterprize, had collected from among the inhabitants,

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inhabitants, the Cape militia, and the ſeamen in the harbour, a ſtrong party to ſupport the governor's authority. On the 20th, the two brothers landed at the head of one thouſand two hundred ſailors, and being joined by a conſiderable body of volunteers, immediately marched in array towards the government houſe, in which the commiſſioners were ſtationed. The latter were defended by the people of colour, a body of regulars, and one piece of cannon. The conflict was fierce and bloody. The volunteers manifeſted great firmneſs, but the ſeamen getting poſſeſſion of a wine cellar, ſoon became intoxicated and ungovernable; and the column was obliged to retire to the royal arſenal, where they remained the enſuing night unmoleſted.

The next morning many ſkirmiſhes took place in the ſtreets, with various ſucceſs, in one of which Galbaud's brother was taken priſoner by the commiſſioners' troops; and in another, the ſeamen that were fighting on the part of Galbaud made captive Polverel's ſon; and now an extraordinary circumſtance occurred. The governor ſent a flag propoſing that his brother might be exchanged for the commiſſioner's ſon; but Polverel rejected the propoſal with indignation; declaring in anſwer, that his ſon knew his duty, and was prepared to die in the ſervice of the republick.

But a ſcene now opens, which, if it does not obliterate, exceeds at leaſt, all that has hitherto been related of factious anarchy, and ſavage cruelty, in this unfortunate colony. On the firſt approach of Galbaud with ſo large a body of ſeamen, the commiſſioners diſpatched agents to call in to their aſſiſtance the

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the revolted negroes; offering them an unconditional pardon for paſt offences, perfect freedom in future, and the plunder of the city. The rebel generals, *Jean François* and *Biaſſou*, rejected their offers; but on the 21ſt, about noon (juſt after that Galbaud and moſt of his adherents, finding their cauſe hopeleſs, had retired to the ſhips) a negro chief called *Macaya*, with upwards of three thouſand of the revolted ſlaves, entered the town, and began an univerſal and indiſcriminate ſlaughter of men, women, and children. The white inhabitants fled from all quarters to the ſea-ſide, in hopes of finding ſhelter with the governor on board the ſhips in the harbour; but a body of the mulattoes cut off their retreat, and a horrid butchery enſued, which continued with unremitting fury from the 21ſt, to the evening of the 23d; when the ſavages, having murdered all the white inhabitants that fell in their way, ſet fire to the buildings; and more than half the city was conſumed by the flames. The commiſſioners themſelves, either terrified at beholding the lamentable and extenſive miſchief which they had occaſioned, or afraid to truſt their perſons with their rebel allies, ſought protection under cover of a ſhip of the line. The proclamations which they publiſhed from time to time in palliation of their conduct, manifeſt a conſciouſneſs of guilt which could not be ſuppreſſed, and form a record of their villanies, for which the day of retribution awaits, but ſtill lingers to overtake them! *(f)*

(f) When this was written, the author did not know that Santhonax alone ſurvives. Polverel died in 1794. Santhonax has lately appeared before the national aſſembly, and been pronounced *guiltleſs!*

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Such was the fate of the once flouriſhing and beautiful capital of St. Domingo!—a city which, for trade, opulence, and magnificence, was undoubtedly among the firſt in the Weſt Indies—perhaps in the new world: and here I ſhall cloſe for the preſent, the diſguſting detail of conſpiracies, rebellions, crimes, cruelties, and conflagrations (a uniformity of horrors!) through which the nature of my work has compelled me to travel;—rejoicing that I have at laſt

Eſcap'd the Stygian pool, tho' long detain'd
In that obſcure ſojourn;——

Milton.

And have the pleaſing taſk to perform of rendering due homage to the gallant and enterprizing ſpirit of my countrymen in their noble—but alas! hitherto unavailing—endeavours to reſtore peace, ſubordination, and good government on this theatre of anarchy and bloodſhed. Previous to which, however, it will be a relief and ſatisfaction to the reader to be preſented with a picture or ſtate of the colony, as it exiſted in the days of its proſperity;—its culture, population, and produce;—its growing importance and commercial value. Hitherto, we have contemplated nothing but ſcenes of deſolation.—We ſhall now behold a pleaſing contraſt in the bleſſings of regular government: due ſubordination, ſocial order, extenſive commerce, peaceful induſtry, increaſing cultivation, ſmiling plenty, and general happineſs! The concluſions to be drawn from the contemplation of ſcenes ſo different in their nature, are of importance to all mankind.

The Account given above of the Deſtruction of the City of Cape François, was drawn up with as much Caution as the Caſe ſeemed to require, from Information tranſmitted to the Author by Perſons in Jamaica and St. Domingo, ſome of whom differed in many eſſential Circumſtances from others. He had afterwards an Opportunity of converſing perſonally on the Subject with a Gentleman of St. Domingo, on whoſe Veracity and Honour he could place the fulleſt Dependance, by whom he was favoured with the following Notes or Memoranda *in Writing, which he thinks beſt to lay before his Readers* verbatim.

NOTES SUR L'EVENEMENT DU CAP.

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LE General Galbaud avoit mandé au Cap les commiſſaires Santhonax et Polverel, de la maniere la plus imperieuſe; les commiſſaires ſe ſont déterminés a s'y rendre par terre de S. Marc, d'où ils ſont partis le 8 Juin, accompagnés de 400 mulâtres et 200 blancs, et compris leurs coupe tête les dragons d'Orleans. Ils ont fait leur entrée au Cap d'une maniere aſſéz audacieuſe pour en impoſer.

GALBAUD avait deja indiſpoſé les habitans du Cap par une addreſſe, ou proclamation, qui ordonnait une contribution de 450 mille livres, dont la perception a été faite de la façon la plus violente, et qui tenait plus du pillage que d'une contribution.

LE General Galbaud n'avait fait aucune diſpoſitions pour ſe preſerver des reſolutions et des entrepriſes des commiſſaires, qui entrerent cependant d'une maniere menaçante.

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A LA premiere entrevüe des General Galbaud et des commiſſaires, en la maiſon de la commiſſion (le gouvernement) apres les premiers compliments, il y eut explication ſur les pouvoirs du general; les commiſſaires lui opoſerent un decret qui deffendait qu'aucun proprietaire dans la colonie pût y commander ni y avoir d'autorité; et accuſerent M. Galbaud d'avoir diſſimulé au conſeil executif qu'il avait des proprietés.

PENDANT ce demêlé, qui dura près de deux jours, les agents des commiſſaires préparaient les eſprits a les laiſſer faire, et a ne point ſe mêler de la diſcution, dans laquelle Santhonax prenait cependant une grande preponderance.

GALBAUD, voyant que perſonne ne s'empreſſait a le ſoutenir, et prevoyant ſans doute une chute humiliante, demanda aux commiſſaires de s'en retourner en France, préférant la retraite, a des pouvoirs conteſtés; ce qui lui fut accordé ſur le champ, et il s'embarqua le 14.

LE 17 Galbaud réünit tous les matelots de la rade et ceux des vaiſſeaux de guerre, et projette de deſcendre a la ville du Cap; il fait ſon débarquement le 18, et marche au gouvernement, où logeaient les commiſſaires, qui inſtruits des mouvemens de Galbaud, réünirent les troupes qui leurs etaient devouées, et particulierement les mulâtres, et les embuſquerent derriere les murs du gouvernement, dans toutes les iſsües, ſur les terraſſes, &c. Auſſitôt que les matelots furent a portée de piſtolet, on fit des décharges, qui en tuerent et bleſſerent un grand nombre, néanmoins les mulâtres furent ebranlés deux fois; mais le déſordre dans les matelots determina le General Galbaud a faire ſa retraite a l'arſenal; là, il fit une proclamation pour inviter les bons citoyens a ſe réünir a lui, pour chaſſer les commiſſaires, CHAP. VIII.

qui voulaient uſurper le gouvernement. Dès-lors les commiſſaires réünirent aux mulâtres tous les négres de la ville, qui avaient deja pris parti dans l'action en aſſaſſinant dans la ville ; toutes les troupes qui leurs avaient ſervis a leur expedition, et les placerent par pelotons a chaque coin des rües, et dès qu'un blanc voulait ſortir de chéz lui, ou paraiſſait aux fenetres, il etait fuſillé.

PENDANT ce tems, et dès que les commiſſaires eurent appris les mouvemens de Galbaud, ils avaient depeché des exprès aux chefs des brigands, pour les engager a venir a leur ſecours, et leurs offraient le pillage de la ville.

LE 19 Galbaud capitule à l'arſenal, et ſe rend abord : il y en mis en etat d'arreſtation, ainſi que l'Amiral Cambis, et le Contre-Amiral Sercey, qui ſont dépouilles de leur commandement.

UNE proclamation des commiſſaires avait precedamment a cet' évenement, mis a contribution 37 negociants, ou riches particuliers, pour une ſomme de 675 mille livres, qui parrait avoir été exigée et payée ſur l'heure. Le 19, au ſoir, le 20, le 21, les brigands entrent de toutes parts dans la ville du Cap, ayant a leur tête leurs chefs. Le pillage, les maſſacrês, les flammes deviennent effroyables; les hommes, les femmes, les enfans ſont aſſaſſinés, maſſacrés, et éprouvent toutes les horreurs imaginables.

LES malheureux de tout ſexe, de tout âge, qui cherchaient a ſe ſauver en gagnant des embarcations, où a la nage, etaient fuſillés même dans l'eau.

IL parrait que dans le maſſacre les négres ont frapés indiſtinctement tous les partis, blancs, mulâtres, et que les blancs ſe ſont deffendus contre tous avec un grand acharnement ; néanmoins il parrait certain, que la population blanche a été entierement détruite, et qu'il n'a pas reſté un ſeul blanc au Cap ; on eſtime, que, s'il s'eſt ſauvé 12 a 1500 perſonnes abord, c'eſt plus qu'on n'oſe l'eſperer.

Le convoi eſt ſortie du Cap le 23 pour l'Amerique, la majeure partie ayant très peu de vivres, très peu d'eau, et pluſieurs ſans être préparés a ce voyage, ſans mats ni voilles, & ceux qui ont reçu les malheureux qui ſe ſont ſauvés abord, n'y auront trouvé aucune ſubſiſtance.

La ville incendiée, détruite, ſes habitans maſſacrés, on aſſure qu'il ne reſte que le gouvernement, une partie des caſernes, l'arſenal, et les maiſons du Petit Carenage ;—l'égliſe et les fontaines détruites.

Les commiſſaires ont reſté ſpectateurs tranquilles pendant le carnage et le maſſacre ; dans leur maiſon on a vu Santhonax ſerrer et preſſer dans ſes bras les chefs des brigands, les appeller ſes ſauveurs, et leur témoigner leur reconnaiſſance.

Le 23 proclamation des commiſſaires, qui invite et appelle tous les bons citoyens à ſe réünir autour d'eux, et de laiſſer partir les ſcélerats, qui vont aller ſubir le juſte chatiment de leurs crimes ; le convoi en parti le jour méme, & la ville fumait ençore.

CHAP. IX.

Situation, Extent, and General Deſcription of St. Domingo—Origin of the French Colony, and Topographical Deſcription of the ſeveral Provinces into which the French Poſſeſſions were divided—Their Population, and Produce—Shipping and Exports—Compared with the Returns of Jamaica.

THE Iſland of St. Domingo is ſituated in the Atlantick Ocean, about three thouſand five hundred miles from the Land's End of England; the eaſtern point lying in north latitude 18° 20′, and in longitude 68° 40′ W. from Greenwich. The iſland extends about one hundred and forty miles in the broadeſt part, from north to ſouth, and three hundred and ninety from eaſt to weſt. In a country of ſuch magnitude, diverſified with plains of vaſt extent, and mountains of prodigious height, is probably to be found every ſpecies of ſoil which nature has aſſigned to all the tropical parts of the earth. In general, it is fertile in the higheſt degree; every where well watered, and producing almoſt every variety of vegetable nature, for uſe and beauty, for food and luxury, which the laviſh hand of a bountiful Providence has beſtowed on the richeſt portion of the globe; and the liberality of nature was laudably ſeconded by the induſtry of the inhabitants. Until thoſe ravages and devaſtations which I have had the painful taſk of recording, deformed and deſtroyed, with undiſtinguiſhing barbarity, both the bounties of nature, and the labours of art; the poſſeſſions of France in this noble iſland were conſidered as the garden of the Weſt Indies; and for beautiful ſcenery, richneſs of ſoil, ſalubrity and variety of climate, might juſtly be deemed *the Paradiſe of the New World.*

Of the territories which remained excluſively in poſſeſſion of the original conquerors, the Spaniards, my information is very imperfect. I ſhall hereafter give the beſt account I have been able to collect concerning them. On the ſouthern coaſt, more eſpecially in the neighbourhood of the ancient city, from which the iſland derives its preſent name, the lands are ſaid to be among the beſt, and without doubt a very large proportion of the remainder requires only the hand of the cultivator to become very productive. The interior country contains extenſive ſavannahs, or plains, many of them occupied only by wild ſwine, horſes, and horned cattle; for the Spaniards having exterminated the ſimple and unoffending natives, ſupplied their place with herds of domeſtick animals, which running wild, ſoon multiplied beyond computation. Thus does the tyranny of man convert the fruitful habitations of his fellow-creatures into a wilderneſs for beaſts! In the preſent caſe, however, the crime brought down its own puniſhment;—a puniſhment which almoſt revenged the wrongs of the helpleſs Americans;—and who does not wiſh that avarice, ambition, and cruelty, may be thus always entangled in their own projects?

The reader is doubtleſs apprized that I here allude to the eſtabliſhment in St. Domingo, of that daring and deſperate band of adventurers, the *Bucaniers*;—an aſſociation conſtituted of men of all countries and deſcriptions, but of whom it may truly be ſaid, that if ſelf-preſervation be a law of nature, the hoſtilities which they maintained for upwards of fifty years againſt their oppreſſors, were more juſtifiable and legitimate in their origin, than all the wars which the pride and ambition of kings and nations have occaſioned, from the beginning of the world to the preſent hour. As the cruelty of the Spaniards firſt compelled theſe men, from a ſenſe of common danger, to unite their ſtrength, ſo the blind policy of ſtocking with cattle a country of ſuch extent, became their ſupport; for the fleſh of thoſe animals ſupplied them with food, and they purchaſed arms, ammunition, and clothing with the ſkins.

Of the riſe of theſe people, and the primary cauſe of their combining together to make repriſals on the Spaniſh ſettlements, a ſhort account may be neceſſary: I have elſewhere treated the ſubject more at large (a).—They conſiſted originally of a body of French and Engliſh planters, whom, in the year 1629, a Spaniſh armament had expelled from the iſland of St. Chriſtopher, with circumſtances of outrageous barbarity. Driven from thence, by a force which they could not reſiſt, as the only alternative of eſcaping from ſlaughter or ſlavery, they fled in open boats with their families, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the ſmall unoccupied iſland of *Tortuga*, ſituated within a few miles of the northern coaſt of St. Domingo. Here they were joined by a conſiderable number of Dutch emigrants from

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(a) Vol. I. Book ii. C. 2.

Santa Cruz, whom the avarice and cruelty of the Spaniards had compelled, in like manner, to roam over the ocean for ſhelter, after having witneſſed the maſſacre of many of their number, even to the women and children. Companions in adverſity, theſe poor exiles learnt mutual forbearance from their common ſufferings; for, although they were compoſed of three different nations, they appear to have lived for ſome years in perfect harmony with each other. Their mode of life contributed to produce the ſame beneficial effect: finding a country of immeaſurable extent in their neighbourhood abounding in cattle, their time was chiefly occupied in hunting; an employment which left no leiſure for diſſenſion, and afforded them both exerciſe and food. The plains of St. Domingo were conſidered, however, merely as their hunting grounds: Tortuga continued their home, and place of retreat. Here their women and young people cultivated ſmall plantations of tobacco (an herb, of which, in hot and moiſt climates, the practice of inhaling the ſmoke, ſeems to be pointed out by nature); and as the coaſt was rugged, and of difficult approach, they fondly hoped that their obſcurity would protect them from further perſecution.

If the government of Spain had been actuated at this time by motives of wiſdom, it would indeed have left theſe poor people to range over the wilderneſs unmoleſted. It ought to have known, that the occupation of hunting diverted them from projects of vengeance, and deeds of greater enterprize; but tyranny is without foreſight, and the reſtleſs and remorſeleſs bigotry of the Spaniſh nation allowed the fugitives no reſpite.

An armament was collected, and preparations made to effect their utter extermination; the commanders of which, taking occaſion when the ableſt of the men had reſorted to the larger iſland in their uſual purſuit, landed a body of ſoldiers at Tortuga; and making captives of the women and children, the old and infirm, cauſed them all to be maſſacred without mercy.

It does not appear that the miſerable people who were thus purſued to deſtruction, like beaſts of prey, had been guilty of any outrages or depredations on the ſhips or ſubjects of Spain, which called for ſuch exemplary vengeance. Neither was it imputed to them as a crime that they had poſſeſſed themſelves of Tortuga, or that they roamed about the deſarts of St. Domingo in purſuit of cattle which had no owners. Their guilt conſiſted in the circumſtance of being born out of the Spaniſh territories, and preſuming nevertheleſs to venture into any part of the New World; for the arrogant preſumption and extravagant ſelfiſhneſs of this bigotted nation, led them to appropriate all the countries of America to themſelves. They claimed even the ſole and excluſive right of ſailing on any ſuch part of the main ocean as, in their judgment, conſtituted a portion of the newly-diſcovered hemiſphere; and ſtrict orders were iſſued to all their commanders, by ſea and land, to ſeize the ſhips and ſubjects of all other people that ſhould be found within the boundaries which they had preſcribed, and to puniſh the intruders with ſlavery or death.—We have ſeen in what manner thoſe orders were executed.

It is evident, therefore, that no alternative remained to the occupiers of Tortuga, but to turn on their purſuers, and wage offenſive war on thoſe who would allow of no peace with them. If the juſtice of their cauſe be ſtill a queſtion, let the records of time be conſulted; let an appeal be made to that rule of conduct, which (to uſe an eloquent expreſſion of Lord Coke) *is written by the finger of God on the heart of man*; and let hiſtory and reaſon determine, whether any inſtance of hoſtility, in the annals of mankind, can be defended on better grounds. To ſuch men, in ſuch a cauſe, no dangers were too formidable, no obſtacles too great. Inured by their mode of life, to the viciſſitudes of the climate, united among themſelves, and animated by all the motives and paſſions which can inflame the human mind to great exertion, they became the moſt formidable antagoniſts which the Spaniards had ever encountered, and diſplayed ſuch deeds of valour and ſucceſsful enterprize, as (all circumſtances conſidered) have never been equalled before or ſince.

From a party of theſe adventurers (chiefly natives of Normandy) the French colony in St. Domingo derived its origin. By what means they were induced to ſeparate from their aſſociates in danger, to relinquiſh the gratification of revenge and avarice, and exchange the tumults of war for the temperate occupations of huſbandry, it is neither within my province nor ability to explain. Many of them, without doubt, were men who had been driven from Europe by indigent circumſtances and deſperate fortunes; ſome, by the cruelty of creditors; and others, perhaps, by the conſciouſneſs of their crimes. Captivated by the renown, and allured by the wealth of the Bucaniers, they joined in their expeditions againſt the Spaniards from no better motives than thoſe of plunder and rapine; and to ſuch men muſt be imputed thoſe outrages and exceſſes which have ſtamped the proceedings of the whole aſſociation with infamy *(b)*. But there is a time for

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(b) I conceive, however, that theſe have been wonderfully magnified and exaggerated. The narrative called *The Hiſtory of the Bucaniers*, publiſhed towards the latter end of the laſt century, which has been quoted by writers of all deſcriptions ever ſince as of unqueſtionable authority, was originally written in Dutch, by one John Eſquemeling, who confeſſes that he had been one of the Bucaniers, and was expelled from their ſociety. The reports of ſuch a writer ought to have been received with great caution; but there is a ſtill ſtronger circumſtance to excite ſuſpicion; and it is this: The Engliſh work is not taken from the Dutch original, but from *a Spaniſh tranſlation*; and to ſuppoſe that a Spaniard would ſpeak favourably of the Bucaniers, is the very exceſs of human credulity. Not having the original book to refer to, I cannot pronounce with certainty; but I am of opinion, that many of the tragical ſtories concerning the torture of the Spaniſh priſoners, and the violation of the women, are interpolations of the Spaniſh tranſlator. I form this concluſion from the malignity diſplayed towards the character of the famous Sir Henry Morgan. If we may believe the account given of this gallant commander, he was the moſt inhuman monſter that ever exiſted. Yet this very man (who by the way acted under a regular commiſſion and letters of reprizal from government) after he had quitted the ſea, was recommended by the earl of Carliſle to be his ſucceſſor in the government of Jamaica, and was accordingly appointed lieutenant-governor in the earl's abſence. He afterwards received the honour of knighthood from King Charles II. and paſſed the remainder of his life on his plantation in Jamaica. By the kindneſs of a friend in that iſland, I have had an opportunity of peruſing ſome of Sir Henry Morgan's original private letters; and this I will ſay, that they manifeſt ſuch a ſpirit of humanity, juſtice, liberality, and piety, as prove that he has either been groſsly traduced, or that he was the greateſt hypocrite living;—a character ill-ſuited to the frank and fearleſs temper of the man.

all things; and the change of life in theſe men confirms the obſervation of an elegant writer, that "as there is no ſoil which "will not ſhew itſelf grateful to culture, ſo there is no diſpo-"ſition, no character of mankind, which may not, by dexterous "management, be turned to the publick advantage *(c)*." It was a happy circumſtance in the infancy of their eſtabliſhment, that while they were too obſcure for the notice of the government, they had no check given to their induſtry by the chill influence of poverty. To a fortunate exemption from the hand of power, and the facility with which they were ſupplied with the common neceſſaries of life, they were indebted for their preſervation and proſperity. A mediocrity of condition, and equal freedom, excited the ſpirit of emulation among them; but oppreſſion would have produced diſcouragement; and ſloth, not induſtry, is the offspring of wretchedneſs.

Of the progreſſive purſuits of theſe people in extending the footing which they had obtained, until the French government accepted their ſubmiſſion, acknowledged them as faithful ſubjects, and availed itſelf of their labours,—and the final ceſſion to France of the weſtern part of St. Domingo, by the peace of Ryſwick, the reader will find an ample account in the hiſtory of this iſland by Pere Charlevoix. It is therefore unneceſſary for me to detail what an author ſo well informed in the ancient tranſactions of the colony, has written. All that my Engliſh reader will expect, is an account of the political and topographical ſtate of the colony; its population, produce, and ex-

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(c) European Settlements, Vol. II. p. 109.

ports at the time my Hiſtory commences; and theſe particulars will be found in what remains of the preſent Chapter.

The poſſeſſions of the French in St. Domingo, as I have elſewhere obſerved, were divided into three great departments, called the Northern, the Weſtern, and the Southern Provinces. The Northern Province comprehended a line of ſea-coaſt extending about forty leagues, from the river Maſſacre, to Cape St. Nicholas, and contained (including Tortuga) twenty-ſix pariſhes. Its population, in the beginning of 1790, conſiſted of 11,996 white inhabitants of all ages, and 164,656 negro ſlaves. The number of ſugar plantations was 288, of which 258 made what is called *clayed*, or ſoft white ſugar, and 30 *muſcovado*, or raw ſugar. It reckoned 2,009 plantations of coffee, 66 of cotton, 443 of indigo, and 215 ſmaller eſtabliſhments, ſuch as proviſion-grounds, cacao-groves, tan-pits, potteries, brick-kilns, &c.

Of the towns and harbours in the Northern Province, the chief were thoſe of Cape François, Fort Dauphin, Port De Paix, and Cape St. Nicholas. I ſhall treat only of the firſt and the laſt.

The town of Cape François (which in time of war was the ſeat of the French government) would have ranked, for beauty and regularity, among the cities of the ſecond claſs in any part of Europe. It conſiſted of between eight and nine hundred houſes of ſtone and brick, many of them handſome and commodious, beſides ſhops and warehouſes; and it contained two magnificent ſquares, ornamented each with a publick fountain. The chief publick buildings were the church; the government-houſe (formerly a convent belonging to the Jeſuits); a ſuperb barrack for troops; a royal arſenal; a priſon; a play-houſe; and two hoſpitals. The number of free inhabitants of all colours, was eſtimated at eight thouſand, excluſive of the king's troops and ſea-faring people. The domeſtick ſlaves were ſaid to be about twelve thouſand. The ſituation of the town, however, was not to be commended. It was built at the foot of a very high mountain, called *Le Morn du Cap*, which abounds indeed with ſprings of excellent water, and furniſhed a great ſupply of garden vegetables, but it intercepted the land-wind, and reverberated the rays of the ſun. The town aroſe to opulence chiefly from the commodiouſneſs of its harbour, and the extreme fertility of the plain adjoining it to the eaſt, a diſtrict fifty miles in length, and twelve in breadth, appropriated ſolely to the cultivation of ſugar (the plantations of which were divided from each other only by hedges of citrons and limes) and yielding greater returns than perhaps any other ſpot of the ſame extent in the habitable globe.

The town of Cape St. Nicholas conſiſts of about 250 houſes, which are chiefly built of American wood. It is ſheltered by a high bluff, called the *Mole*; and having been a free-port, was a place of conſiderable trade, and particularly reſorted to by the ſhips of America. It is chiefly known, however, for the ſafety and extent of its harbour, which is juſtly called the key of the Windward paſſage; and the fortifications towards the ſea are reckoned among the ſtrongeſt in the Weſt Indies. On the ſide of the land they are overlooked by the ſurrounding heights, and hence it is concluded, that although it might be difficult to take the place by an invading armament, it would be ſtill more difficult to retain it afterwards, unleſs poſſeſſion was obtained alſo of the interior country.

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The Weſtern province began at Cape St. Nicholas, and extending along the line of coaſt which forms the bight of Leogane, for upwards of one hundred leagues, terminated at Cape Tiburon. It contained ſixteen pariſhes, and four chief towns, namely, Port au Prince, St. Marc, Leogane, and Petit Goave; beſides villages, of which thoſe of Gonaives, Arcahaye, and Croix des Bouquets, are not inconſiderable. The only good harbours in this great extent of coaſt are thoſe of Port au Prince and Gonaives. All the other ſhipping-places are open roads, ſometimes much expoſed.

Port au Prince (except in time of war, when the Governor-General was directed to remove to Cape François) was conſidered as the metropolis of the colony. In 1790 it conſiſted of about 600 houſes, and contained 2,754 white inhabitants *(d)*. The ſituation is low and marſhy, and the climate, in conſequence, very unhealthy. It is ſurrounded moreover by hills, which command both the town and the harbour; but both the

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(d) The free people of colour were eſtimated at 4,000, and the enſlaved negroes at about 8,000: but being comprehended in the general return for the whole diſtrict, they are no where aſcertained with preciſion.

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hills and the vallies are abundantly fertile. To the eaſt is ſituated the noble plain of Cul de Sac, extending from thirty to forty miles in length by nine in breadth, and it contained one hundred and fifty ſugar-plantations, moſt of which were capable of being watered in times of drought, by canals admirably contrived and diſpoſed for that purpoſe. The circumjacent mountains were at the ſame time clothed with plantations of coffee, which extended quite to the Spaniſh ſettlements.

The population and ſtate of agriculture in the Weſtern Province were as follow: white inhabitants of all ages 12,798; negroes in a ſtate of ſlavery 192,901; plantations of clayed ſugar 135, of muſcovado 222. Plantations of coffee 894, of cotton 489, of indigo 1,952, beſides 343 ſmaller ſettlements.

The Southern Province, extending upwards of ſixty leagues from Cape Tiburon, along the ſouthern coaſt of the iſland to L'Ance a Pitre, contained twelve pariſhes, and three chief towns, Les Cayes, Jeremie, and Jacmel; places of which I ſhall hereafter have occaſion to ſpeak. It poſſeſſes no ſafe harbours, and its roads are dangerous. The ſhipping that load at Les Cayes take refuge, during the hurricane ſeaſon, at La Baye des Flamands.

The population in this department was compoſed of 6,037 whites, and 76,812 negro ſlaves. Its eſtabliſhments conſiſted of 38 plantations of white ſugar, and 110 of muſcovado; 214

coffee-plantations, 234 of cotton, 765 of indigo, and 119 ſmaller ſettlements.

THE quantity of land in cultivation throughout all the pariſhes was 763,923 carreaux *(e)*, equal to 2,289,480 Engliſh acres, of which about two-thirds were ſituated in the mountains; and that the reader may have a ſtate of the agriculture at one view, I ſhall ſubjoin a ſummary of the preceding accounts, from whence it will appear that the French colony contained, the beginning of 1790,

	431	plantations of clayed ſugar,
	362	- - - of muſcovado.
Total -	793	plantations of ſugar,
	3,117	- - - of coffee,
	789	- - - of cotton,
	3,160	- - - of indigo,
	54	- - - of cacao, or chocolate,
	623	ſmaller ſettlements, chiefly for raiſing grain, yams, and other vegetable food.
Making	8,536	eſtabliſhments of all kinds throughout the colony.

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(*e*) The carreau of land in St. Domingo is 100 paces ſquare, of 3½ French feet each; the ſuperfices 122,500 feet. The Paris foot is divided into twelve inches, and each into twelve lines; wherefore, if we ſuppoſe each line to be divided into 310 parts, The population in 1790, on a like ſummary, appears to have been 30,831 whites of both ſexes and all ages (excluſive of European troops and ſea-faring people), and 434,429 negro ſlaves. In this account, however, the domeſtick ſlaves, and negro mechanicks employed in the ſeveral towns, are not comprehended. They amounted to about 46,000, which made the number of negro ſlaves throughout the colony 480,000.

Of the free people of colour, no very accurate account was obtained. Monſ. Marbois, the intendant, reported them in 1787 at about 20,000. In 1790, the general opinion fixed them at 24,000.

The exterior appearance of the colony, as I have obſerved in another place, every where demonſtrated great and increaſing proſperity. Cultivation was making rapid advances over the country. The towns abounded in warehouſes, which were filled with the richeſt commodities and productions of Europe, and the harbours were crouded with ſhipping. There were freighted in 1787, for Europe alone, 470 ſhips, containing 112,253 tons, and navigated by 11,220 ſeamen. Many of them were veſſels of very large burthen; and the following is an accurate account, from the intendant's return, of the general exports, on an average of the years 1787, 1788, and 1789; viz.

AVERAGE

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the Paris foot will be 1,440 parts, the London 1,350. Theſe proportions were ſettled by the Royal Academy of Sciences. The Jamaica acre contains 43,560 Engliſh feet ſuperficial meaſure; which being multiplied by 1,350, and the total divided by 1,440, gives 40,837½, or about one-third part of the carreau of St. Domingo.

AVERAGE EXPORTS FROM THE FRENCH PART OF ST. DOMINGO, BEFORE THE REVOLUTION.

			Livres.
Clayed ſugar	lbs.	58,642,214	41,049,549
Muſcovado ſugar	lbs.	86,549,829	34,619,931
Coffee	lbs.	71,663,187	71,663,187
Cotton	lbs.	6,698,858	12,397,716
Indigo	Hhds.	951,607	8,564,463
Molaſſes	Hhds.	23,061	2,767,320
An inferior ſort of rum, called taffia	Hhds.	2,600	312,000
Raw hides	N°	6,500	52,000
Tann'd ditto	N°	7,900	118,500

The total value at the ports of ſhipping, in livres of St. Domingo, was - - - - - - - - 171,544,666

being equal to £.4,956,780 ſterling money of Great Britain; and if all the ſmuggled articles were added, together with the value of mahogany and other woods, the whole amount would probably exceed five millions of pounds ſterling*.

If this ſtatement be compared by the rule of proportion with the exports from Jamaica, the reſult will be conſiderably in favour of St. Domingo; *i. e.* it will be found that the planters of Jamaica receive ſmaller returns from the labours of their negroes, in proportion to their numbers, than the planters of St.

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* Vide Appendix, Table N° 2, from whence it will appear that the exports for 1791 greatly exceeded the average above given, both in quantities and value.

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Domingo have received from theirs. For this difference various cauſes have been aſſigned, and advantages allowed, and qualities aſcribed to the French planters, which I venture to pronounce, on full enquiry, had no exiſtence. The true cauſe aroſe, undoubtedly, from the ſuperior fertility of the ſoil, and the prodigious benefit which reſulted to the French planters from the ſyſtem of watering their ſugar-lands in extreme dry weather. This is an advantage which nature has denied to the lands in Jamaica, except in a very few places; but has freely beſtowed on many parts of St. Domingo; and the planters there availed themſelves of it with the happieſt ſucceſs (f).

And

(f) Having made diligent enquiry into the average produce of the French ſugar-lands in St. Domingo while on the ſpot, I venture to give the following eſtimate, as nearly founded in truth as the ſubject will admit.

In the North, the diſtricts of Ouanaminthe, Maribaroux, and Quartier Dauphin, generally yielded from ſix to ſeven thouſand pounds weight of muſcovado ſugar for each carreau in canes; the average is

carreau in canes; the average is	6,500	
Jaquizi	7,000	
Limonade	9,000	
Quartier Morin	6,000	
Plain du Nord, Limbé, Petite Anſe	5,000	
		33,500

The average of the whole is 6,700lbs. each carreau.—This part of St. Domingo was not watered.

In the Weſt—St. Marc, L'Artibonite, and Gonaives, each carreau yielded

yielded	8,500	
Vazes, Archaye, Boucaſſin	10,000	
Cul de Sac	9,000	
Leogane	6,500	
		34,000

The average is 8,500lbs. the carreau.—All theſe diſtricts were watered.

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And ſuch, in the days of its proſperity, was the French colony in the iſland of St. Domingo. I have now preſented to my readers both ſides of the medal. To Great Britain, above all other nations of the earth, the facts which I have related may furniſh an important leſſon; and it is ſuch a one as requires no comment!

In the South—the diſtricts of Grand Goave, Les-Cayes, Plaine du Fond, L'Iſlet, &c. which likewiſe were watered, yielded - - - 7,500

The general average, on the whole, is 7,500 lbs. from each carreau in canes; to which add 8½ per cent. for the difference between the Engliſh and French weights, the total is 8,137 lbs. for every three acres Engliſh, or 2,712 lbs. per acre; being nearly two-thirds more than the general yielding of all the land in canes throughout Jamaica.

CHAP. X.

Emigrations—Overtures to the Britiſh Government accepted—Situation and Strength of the Republican Party in St. Domingo, and Diſpoſition of the Inhabitants—Negro Slavery aboliſhed by the French Commiſſioners—Armament allotted for the Invaſion of the country—Surrender of Jeremie and the Mole at Cape St. Nicholas—Unſucceſsful Attempt on Cape Tiburon—Further Proceedings of the Britiſh Army until the Arrival of General Whyte—Capture of Port au Prince.

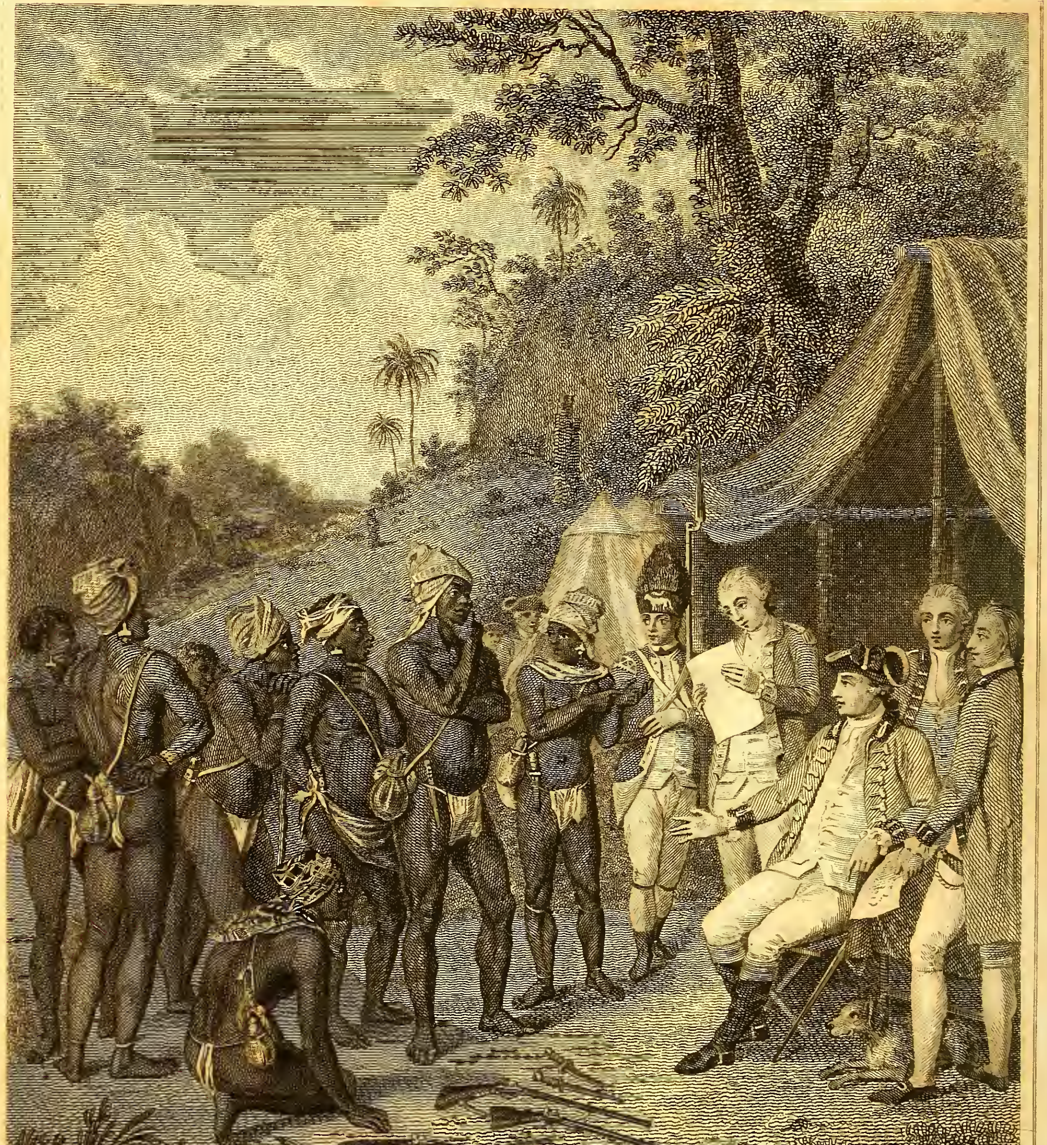
CHAP. X.

THE deſtruction of the beautiful city of Cape François, and the maſſacre of moſt of the white inhabitants, were the ſad events which terminated our hiſtorical detail at the cloſe of the eighth Chapter. It was obſerved, however, that M. Galbaud and his partizans, among whom were comprehended many reſpectable families, had fortunately embarked on the ſhips in the harbour, juſt before the revolted negroes entered the town. Happy to fly from a country devoted to ruin, they directed their courſe to the United States of North America; and to the honour of the human character (debaſed as we have beheld it in other ſituations) they found there, what great numbers of their unhappy fellow-citizens had found before them, a refuge from the reach of perſecution, and an aſylum from the preſſure of poverty.

EMIGRATIONS from all parts of St. Domingo now prevailed to a great extent. Many of the planters removed with their families to the neighbouring iſlands; ſome of them took refuge in Jamaica; and ſeveral thouſands tranſported themſelves to different parts of the continent of North America. Moſt of theſe were perſons of peaceable tempers, who ſought only to procure the mere neceſſaries of life in ſafety and quiet. A few of the planters, having other objects in view, repaired to Great Britain. It is a circumſtance within my own knowledge, that ſo early as the latter end of 1791, application had been made by ſome of them to the King's miniſters, requeſting that an armament might be ſent to take poſſeſſion of the country for the King of Great Britain, and receive the allegiance of the inhabitants. They aſſerted (—I am afraid with much greater confidence than truth—) that all claſſes of the whites wiſhed to place themſelves under the Engliſh dominion, and that, on the firſt appearance of a Britiſh ſquadron, the colony would ſurrender without a ſtruggle. To theſe overtures no attention was at that time given; but in the beginning of 1793, ſuch repreſentations were laid before the Governor of Jamaica, by certain partizans from St. Domingo, as perhaps few men in General Williamſon's ſituation, zealous for the honour of his country, and emulous to diſtinguiſh himſelf in ſome military enterprize, could eaſily have withſtood. He was aſſured by thoſe perſons (without any authority, as it appeared afterwards, from the reſident loyaliſts) not only that the whole body of the French planters, throughout the colony, were impatient to ſurrender the country to the Britiſh flag; but that even the future ſafety of Jamaica depended very much on the conqueſt of St. Domingo. Reaſons, not devoid of plauſibility, were urged in ſupport of this laſt aſſertion; and thus was this brave and excellent man induced to recommend this great enterprize to his Majeſty's miniſters, and even to ſolicit permiſſion to undertake it with a ſmall part of the force under his command in Jamaica; no manner of apprehenſion being entertained by him of any formidable reſiſtance.

The project thus recommended and enforced was unfortunately approved and adopted: For, in the month of July following, his Majeſty's pleaſure was ſignified to General Williamſon, that he ſhould accept terms of capitulation from ſuch diſtricts of St. Domingo as ſolicited the protection of the Britiſh Government; and he was authoriſed to employ part of the force under his command, on ſecuring the poſſeſſion of the places that might thus ſurrender.

At this juncture, however, the only place in St. Domingo, the inhabitants of which had manifeſted a decided wiſh to transfer their allegiance to the King of Great Britain, was the little town of Jeremie, ſituated at a ſmall ſea-port within the Bight of Leogane, in the diſtrict of Grand-Ance. Theſe people, by the perſuaſions and influence, it is ſaid, of M. de Caduesh, had employed an agent in Jamaica to negotiate terms with the Governor for that purpoſe. With this perſon therefore General Williamſon now concluded a treaty; and an expreſs was forthwith diſpatched to Jeremie to prepare the loyal inhabitants for a viſit from their new allies and protectors.



Scott sculp.^{t}

PACIFICATION *with the* MAROON NEGROES.

Drawn from the life by Agostino Brunyas. From an original painting in the poſseſsion of Sir W.^{m} Young Bar.^{t} F.R.S ſuppreſſion of the Maroons. They paſſed an act for rendering free Negroes, Mulattoes, and Indians more uſeful, and forming them into companies, with proper encouragements. Some ſloops were diſpatched to the Moſquito-ſhore; and that number of Indians was brought into the iſland, formed into companies under their own officers, and allowed forty ſhillings a month for pay, beſides ſhoes and other articles. White guides were aſſigned to conduct them to the enemy, and they gave proofs of great ſagacity in this ſervice. It was their practice to obſerve the moſt profound ſilence in marching to the enemy's quarters; and when they had once hit upon a track, they were ſure to diſcover the haunt to which it led. They effected conſiderable ſervice, and were, indeed, the moſt proper troops to be employed in that ſpecies of action, which is known in America by the name of *buſh-fighting*. They were well rewarded for their good conduct, and afterwards diſmiſſed to their own country, when the pacification took place with the Maroons.

For in 1738, Governor Trelawney, by the advice of the principal gentlemen of the iſland, propoſed overtures of peace with the Maroon chiefs. Both parties were now grown heartily wearied out with this tedious conflict. The white inhabitants wiſhed relief from the horrors of continual alarms, the hardſhip of military duty, and the intolerable burthen of maintaining the army. The Maroons were not leſs anxious for an accommodation: they were hemmed in, and cloſely beſet on all ſides; their proviſions deſtroyed, and themſelves reduced to ſo miſerable a condition, by famine and inceſſant attacks, that Cudjoe afterwards declared, that if peace had not been offered to them, they had no choice left but either to be ſtarved, lay violent hands on themſelves, or ſurrender to the Engliſh at diſcretion. The extremity of their caſe, however, was not at that time known to the white inhabitants, and their number was ſuppoſed to be twice as great as it was afterwards found to be. The articles of pacification (which I have ſubjoined) were therefore ratified with the Maroon chiefs, and fifteen hundred acres of land aſſigned to one body of them[*], and one thouſand acres to another, which the legiſlature ſecured to them and their poſterity in perpetuity. The Aſſembly, by ſubſequent laws, augmented the premium allowed the Maroons for apprehending fugitive ſlaves, to three pounds per head; and they paſſed many other regulations for their better government and protection, for preventing their purchaſing and harbouring negro ſlaves, and for directing in what manner they ſhould be tried in the caſe of felony, and other crimes, committed againſt the whites[†]; and thus an end was at length happily put to this tedious and ruinous conteſt; a conteſt which, while it laſted, ſeemed to portend nothing leſs than the ruin of the whole colony.

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[*] This was the body that ſettled in Trelawney Town, and are the anceſtors of thoſe who have lately taken up arms. The other Maroon negroes were thoſe of Accompong Town, Crawford Town, and Nanny Town, to each of which lands were allotted. The aggregate number in 1795, was about 1600 men, women, and children.

[†] On complaint made, on oath, to a juſtice of peace, of any felony, burglary, robbery, or other offence whatſoever, having been committed by Maroon negroes, he is required to grant a warrant to apprehend the offenders, and to have all perſons brought before him, or ſome other juſtice, that can give evidence; and if, upon examination, it appears that there are grounds for publick trial, the juſtice is to commit the accuſed, unleſs the offence be bailable, and bind over the witneſſes. They are to be tried where the quarter ſeſſions are held, or where parochial buſineſs is uſually tranſacted, in the following manner:—The juſtice is to call in two other juſtices (who muſt attend, or forfeit twenty pounds each), and they are to ſummon fifteen

Articles of pacification with the Maroons of Trelawney Town, concluded March the firſt, 1738.

In the name of God, Amen. Whereas Captain Cudjoe, Captain Accompong, Captain Johnny, Captain Cuffee, Captain Quaco, and ſeveral other negroes, their dependents and adherents, have been in a ſtate of war and hoſtility, for ſeveral years paſt, againſt our ſovereign lord the King, and the inhabitants of this iſland; and whereas peace and friendſhip among mankind, and the preventing the effuſion of blood, is agreeable to God, conſonant to reaſon, and deſired by every good man; and whereas his Majeſty, King George the Second, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, of Jamaica Lord, Defender of the Faith, &c. has, by his letters patent, dated February the twenty-fourth, one thouſand ſeven hundred and thirty-eight, in the twelfth year of his reign, granted full power and

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fifteen perſons, ſuch as are uſually impanelled to ſerve on juries, to appear at a ſpecified time, who forfeit five pounds each if they neglect. There muſt be ten days between the complaint and the trial. Of the fifteen perſons ſummoned, the firſt twelve who appear are to compoſe a jury. If the Maroon be found guilty, the juſtices may give ſentence, according to law, of death, tranſportation, publick whipping, or confinement to hard labour for not more than twelve months. Execution of women with child is to be reſpited until a reaſonable time after delivery; and where ſentence of death or tranſportation ſhall be paſſed (except for rebellious conſpiracies,) execution is to be reſpited until the Governor's pleaſure be ſignified; the juſtices may alſo reſpite the execution of ony other ſentence till his pleaſure be known, if they ſee cauſe. Where ſeveral are capitally convicted for the ſame offence, one only is to ſuffer death, except for murder or rebellion.

authority to John Guthrie and Francis Sadler, Eſquires, to negotiate and finally conclude a treaty of peace and friendſhip with the aforeſaid Captain Cudjoe, and the reſt of his captains, adherents, and others his men; they mutually, ſincerely, and amicably have agreed to the following articles: Firſt, That all hoſtilities ſhall ceaſe on both ſides for ever. Secondly, That the ſaid Captain Cudjoe, the reſt of his captains, adherents, and men, ſhall be for ever hereafter in a perfect ſtate of freedom and liberty, excepting thoſe who have been taken by them, or fled to them, within two years laſt paſt, if ſuch are willing to return to their ſaid maſters and owners, with full pardon and indemnity from their ſaid maſters or owners for what is paſt; provided always, that, if they are not willing to return, they ſhall remain in ſubjection to Captain Cudjoe and in friendſhip with us, according to the form and tenor of this treaty. Thirdly, That they ſhall enjoy and poſſeſs, for themſelves and poſterity for ever, all the lands ſituate and lying between Trelawney Town and the Cockpits, to the amount of fifteen hundred acres, bearing north-weſt from the ſaid Trelawney Town. Fourthly, That they ſhall have liberty to plant the ſaid lands with coffee, cocoa, ginger, tobacco, and cotton, and to breed cattle, hogs, goats, or any other ſtock, and diſpoſe of the produce or increaſe of the ſaid commodities to the inhabitants of this iſland; provided always, that when they bring the ſaid commodities to market, they ſhall apply firſt to the cuſtos, or any other magiſtrate of the reſpective pariſhes where they expoſe their goods to ſale, for a licenſe to vend the ſame. Fifthly, That Captain Cudjoe, and all the Captain's adherents, and people now in ſubjection to him, ſhall all live together within the bounds of Trelawney Town, and that they have liberty to hunt where they ſhall think fit, except within three miles of any ſettlement, crawl, or pen; provided always, that in caſe the hunters of Captain Cudjoe and thoſe of other ſettlements meet, then the hogs to be equally divided between both parties. Sixthly, That the ſaid Captain Cudjoe, and his ſucceſſors, do uſe their beſt endeavours to take, kill, ſuppreſs, or deſtroy, either by themſelves, or jointly with any other number of men, commanded on that ſervice by his excellency the Governor, or Commander in Chief for the time being, all rebels whereſoever they be, throughout this iſland, unleſs they ſubmit to the ſame terms of accommodation granted to Captain Cudjoe, and his ſucceſſors. Seventhly, That in caſe this iſland be invaded by any foreign enemy, the ſaid Captain Cudjoe, and his ſucceſſors hereinafter named or to be appointed, ſhall then, upon notice given, immediately repair to any place the Governor for the time being ſhall appoint, in order to repel the ſaid invaders with his or their utmoſt force, and to ſubmit to the orders of the Commander in Chief on that occaſion. Eighthly, That if any white man ſhall do any manner of injury to Captain Cudjoe, his ſucceſſors, or any of his or their people, they ſhall apply to any commanding officer or magiſtrate in the neighbourhood for juſtice; *and in caſe Captain Cudjoe, or any of his people, ſhall do any injury to any white perſon, he ſhall ſubmit himſelf, or deliver up ſuch offenders to juſtice.* Ninthly, That if any negro ſhall hereafter run away from their maſters or owners, and fall into Captain Cudjoe's hands, they ſhall immediately be ſent back to the chief magiſtrate of the next pariſh where they are taken; and thoſe that bring them are to be ſatisfied for their trouble, as the legiſlature ſhall appoint* Tenth, That all negroes taken, ſince the raiſing of this party by Captain Cudjoe's people, ſhall immediately be returned. Eleventh, That Captain Cudjoe, and his ſucceſſors, ſhall wait on his Excellency, or the Commander in Chief for the time being, every year, if thereunto required. Twelfth, That Captain Cudjoe, during his life, and the captains ſucceeding him, ſhall have full power to inflict any puniſhment they think proper for crimes committed by their men among themſelves, death only excepted; in which caſe, if the Captain thinks they deſerve death, he ſhall be obliged to bring them before any juſtice of the peace, who ſhall order proceedings on their trial equal to thoſe of other free negroes. Thirteenth, That Captain Cudjoe, with his people, ſhall cut, clear, and keep open, large and convenient roads from Trelawney Town to Weſtmorland and St. James's, and if poſſible to St. Elizabeth's. Fourteenth, That two white men, to be nominated by his Excellency, or the Commander in Chief for the time being, ſhall conſtantly live and reſide with Captain Cudjoe and his ſucceſſors, in order to maintain a friendly correſpondence with the inhabitants of this iſland. Fifteenth, That Captain Cudjoe ſhall, during his life, be Chief Commander in Trelawney Town; after his deceaſe the command to devolve on his brother Captain Accompong; and in caſe of his deceaſe, on his next brother Captain Johnny; and, failing him, Captain Cuffee ſhall ſucceed; who is to be ſucceeded by Captain Quaco; and after all their demiſes, the Governor, or Commander in Chief for the time being, ſhall appoint, from time to time, whom he thinks fit for that command.

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* The Aſſembly granted a premium of thirty ſhillings for each fugitive ſlave returned to his owner by the Maroons, beſides expences.

In teſtimony, &c. &c.

SECTION II.

THE preceding Section conſiſts chiefly of an extract from the Hiſtory of Jamaica, by EDWARD LONG, Eſq. publiſhed in 1774, whoſe account I have choſen to adopt, rather than offer a narrative of my own, for two reaſons; firſt, becauſe I have nothing to add, concerning the origin of the Maroons, to what Mr. Long has ſo diſtinctly related; and, ſecondly, becauſe its adoption exempts me from all ſuſpicion of having fabricated a tale, calculated to juſtify certain circumſtances and tranſactions, of which complaint was lately made in the Britiſh Parliament*, and to which due attention ſhall hereafter be paid. In the meanwhile, I ſhall take up and continue the ſubject where Mr. Long left it, beginning with ſome reflections on the ſituation, character, manners and habits of life of the Maroon negroes; and thus tracing the cauſe of their late revolt to its origin.

THE clauſe in the treaty, by which theſe people were compelled to reſide within certain boundaries in the interior country, apart from all other negroes, was founded, probably, on the apprehenſion that, by ſuffering them to intermix with the negroes in ſlavery, the example which they would thereby continually preſent of ſucceſsful hoſtility, might prove contagious, and create in the minds of the ſlaves an impatience of ſubordination, and a diſpoſition for revolt: but time has abundantly proved that it was an ill-judged and a fatal regulation. The Maroons, inſtead of being eſtabliſhed into ſeparate hordes or communities, in the ſtrongeſt parts of the interior country, ſhould have been encouraged by all poſſible means to frequent the towns and to intermix with the negroes at large. All diſtinction between the Maroons and the other free blacks would ſoon have been loſt; for the greater number would have prevailed over the leſs: whereas the policy of keeping them a diſtinct people, continually inured to arms, introduced among them what the French call an *eſprit de corps*, or a community of ſentiments and intereſts; and concealing from them the powers and reſources of the whites, taught them to feel, and at the ſame time highly to overvalue, their own relative ſtrength and importance.

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* March 1796.

It has been urged againſt the colonial legiſlature, as another, and a ſtill greater, overſight, that after the concluſion of the treaty, no manner of attention was given to the improvement of theſe ignorant people in civilization and morals. The office of *Superintendant*, it has been ſaid, and I believe truly, was commonly beſtowed on perſons of no education or conſequence, and ſoon became a mere *ſinecure*. Mr. Long obſerved, many years ago, that the Maroons would probably prove more faithful allies, and better ſubjects, if pains were taken to inſtil into their minds a few notions of honeſty and religion; and the eſtabliſhment of ſchools, and the erection of a chapel in each of the towns, were recommended as meaſures of indiſpenſable neceſſity.

That theſe obſervations are altogether ill founded, I will not preſume to affirm. Man, in his ſavage ſtate, in all parts of the world, is the ſlave of ſuperſtition; and it is the duty and policy of a good government (let its ſyſtem of religion be what it may) to direct the weakneſſes of our fellow creatures to the promotion of their happineſs. The Chriſtian is not only the beſt ſyſtem of religion calculated for the attainment of that end, but, by leading the mind to the knowledge of truth and immortality, contributes more than any other to amend the heart, and exalt the human character.

Of this high and important truth I hope that I am fully ſenſible: Yet I cannot ſuppreſs the opinion which I have long ſince entertained, that the converſion of ſavage men, from a life of barbarity to the knowledge and practice of Chriſtianity, is a work of much greater difficulty than many pious and excellent perſons in Great Britain ſeem fondly to imagine.

Concerning the Maroons, they are in general ignorant of our language, and all of them attached to the gloomy ſuperſtitions of Africa (derived from their anceſtors) with ſuch enthuſiaſtick zeal and reverential ardour, as I think can only be eradicated with their lives. The Gentoos of India are not, I conceive, more ſincere in their faith, than the negroes of Guinea in believing the prevalence of *Obi* *, and the ſupernatural power of their *Obeah* men. Obſtacles like theſe, accompanied with the fierce and ſordid manners which I ſhall preſently deſcribe, few clergymen would, I think, be pleaſed to encounter, leſt they might experience all the ſufferings, without acquiring the glory of martyrdom.

Under diſadvantages of ſuch magnitude was founded the firſt legal eſtabliſhment of our Maroon allies in Jamaica. Inured, for a long ſeries of years, to a life of warfare within the iſland, it is a matter of aſtoniſhment that they ſubmitted, for any length of time, to any ſyſtem of ſubordination or government whatever. It is probable they were chiefly induced to remain quiet by the great encouragement that was held out to them for the apprehending fugitive ſlaves, and being allowed to range over the uncultivated country without interruption, poſſeſſing an immenſe wilderneſs for their hunting grounds. Theſe purſuits gave full employment to the reſtleſs and turbulent among them. Their game was the wild boar, which abounds in the interior parts of Jamaica; and the Maroons had a method of curing the fleſh without ſalting it. This commodity they frequently brought to market in the towns; and, with the money ariſing from the ſale, and the rewards which they received for the delivery to their owners of runaway ſlaves, they purchaſed ſalted beef, ſpirituous liquors, tobacco, fire-arms, and ammunition, ſetting little or no account on clothing of any kind, and regarding as ſuperfluous and uſeleſs moſt of thoſe things which every people in the loweſt degree of civilization, would conſider as almoſt abſolutely neceſſary to human exiſtence.

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* A ſpecies of pretended magick, deſcribed at large in Vol. ii. Book 4, c. 3.

Their language was a barbarous diſſonance of the African dialects, with a mixture of Spaniſh and broken Engliſh; and their thoughts and attention ſeemed wholly engroſſed by their preſent purſuits, and the objects immediately around them, without any reflections on the paſt or ſolicitude for the future. In common with all the nations of Africa, they believed, however, as I have obſerved, in the prevalence of *Obi*; and the authority which ſuch of their old men as had the reputation of wizards, or *Obeah-men*, poſſeſſed over them, was ſometimes very ſucceſsfully employed in keeping them in ſubordination in their chiefs.

Having, in the reſources that have been mentioned, the means of procuring food for their daily ſupport, they had no inclination for the purſuits of ſober induſtry. Their repugnance to the labour of tilling the earth was remarkable. In ſome of their villages I never could perceive any veſtige of culture; but the ſituation of their towns, in ſuch caſes, was generally in the neighbourhood of plantations belonging to the whites, from the proviſion-grounds of which they either purchaſed, or ſtole, yams, plantains, corn, and other eſculents. When they had no ſupply of this kind, I have ſometimes obſerved ſmall patches of Indian corn and yams, and perhaps a few ſtraggling plantain trees, near their habitations; but the ground was always in a ſhocking ſtate of neglect and ruin.

The labours of the field, however, ſuch as they were (as well as every other ſpecies of drudgery) were performed by the women, who had no other means of clearing the ground of the vaſt and heavy woods with which it is every where incumbered, than by placing fire round the trunks of the trees, till they were conſumed in the middle, and fell by their own weight. It was a ſervice of danger; but the Maroons, like all other ſavage nations, regarded their wives as ſo many beaſts of burthen; and felt no more concern at the loſs of one of them, than a white planter would have felt at the loſs of a bullock. Polygamy too, with their other African cuſtoms, prevailed among the Maroons univerſally. Some of their principal men claimed from two to ſix wives, and the miſeries of their ſituation left theſe poor creatures neither leiſure nor inclination to quarrel with each other.

This ſpirit of brutality, which the Maroons always diſplayed towards their wives, extended in ſome degree to their children. The paternal authority was at all times moſt harſhly exerted; but more eſpecially towards the females. I have been aſſured, that it was not an uncommon circumſtance for a father, in a fit of rage or drunkenneſs, to ſeize his own infant, which had offended him by crying, and daſh it againſt a rock, with a degree of violence that often proved fatal. This he did without any apprehenſion of puniſhment; for the ſuperintendant, on ſuch occaſions, generally found it prudent to keep his diſtance, or be ſilent. Nothing can more ſtrikingly demonſtrate the forlorn and abject condition of the young women among the Maroons, than the circumſtance which every gentleman, who has viſited them on feſtive occaſions, or for the gratification of curioſity, knows to be true; the offering their own daughters, by the firſt men among them, to their viſitors; and bringing the poor girls forward, with or without their conſent, for the purpoſe of proſtitution.

Visits of this kind were indeed but too acceptable both to the Maroons and their daughters; for they generally ended in drunkenneſs and riot. The viſitors too were not only fleeced of their money, but were likewiſe obliged *to furniſh the feaſt*, it being indiſpenſably neceſſary, on ſuch occaſions, to ſend beforehand wine and proviſions of all kinds; and if the gueſts expected to ſleep on beds and in linen, they muſt provide thoſe articles alſo for themſelves. The Maroons, however, if the party conſiſted of perſons of conſequence, would conſider themſelves as highly honoured, and would ſupply wild-boar, land-crabs, pigeons, and fiſh, and entertain their gueſts with a hearty and boiſterous kind of hoſpitality, which had at leaſt the charms of novelty and ſingularity to recommend it.

On ſuch occaſions, a mock fight always conſtituted a part of the entertainment. Mr. Long has given the following deſcription of a ſcene of this kind, which was exhibited by the Trelawney-Town Maroons, in the preſence of the Governor, in 1764. "No ſooner (he obſerves) did the horn ſound the ſignal, than they all joined in a moſt hideous yell, or war-hoop, and bounded into action. With amazing agility they ran, or rather rolled, through their various firings and evolutions. This part of their exerciſe, indeed, more juſtly deſerves to be ſtiled *evolution* than any that is practiſed by the regular troops; for they fire ſtooping almoſt to the very ground; and no ſooner are their muſkets diſcharged, than they throw themſelves into a thouſand antick geſtures, and tumble over and over, ſo as to be continually ſhifting their place; the intention of which is to elude the ſhot, as well as to deceive the aim of their adverſaries, which their nimble and almoſt inſtantaneous change of poſition renders extremely uncertain. When this part of their exerciſe was over, they drew their ſwords; and winding their horn again, began, in wild and warlike geſtures, to advance towards his Excellency, endeavouring to throw as much ſavage fury into their looks as poſſible. On approaching near him, ſome waved their ruſty blades over his head, then gently laid them upon it; whilſt others claſhed their arms together in horrid concert. They next brought their muſkets, and piled them up in heaps at his feet, &c. &c."

With all this ſeeming fury and affected bravery, however, I ſuſpect that they are far below the whites in perſonal valour. Their mode of fighting in real war, is a ſyſtem of ſtratagem, buſh-fighting, and ambuſcade. I will not, indeed, affirm that ſuch a ſyſtem alone, though it diſplays no proof of courage, is abſolutely evidence to the contrary. I believe it is the natural mode of attack and defence, and that the practice of open war, among civilized nations, is artificial and acquired. It is rather from their abominable and habitual cruelty to their captives, and above all to women and children, and from their ſhocking enormities which they practiſe on the dead bodies of their enemies, that I infer the deficiency of the Maroons, in the virtue of true courage. In their treatment of fugitive ſlaves, they manifeſt a blood-thirſtineſs of diſpoſition, which is otherwiſe unaccountable; for, although their vigilance is ſtimulated by the proſpect of reward, they can have no poſſible motives of revenge or malice towards the unfortunate objects of their purſuit: yet it is notoriouſly true, that they wiſh for nothing more than a pretence to put the poor wretches to death, frequently maiming them without provocation; and, until mile-money was allowed by the legiſlature, oftentimes bringing home the head of the fugitive, inſtead of the living man; making the plea of reſiſtance an excuſe for their barbarity.

In the year 1760, an occaſion occurred of putting the courage, fidelity, and humanity of theſe people to the teſt. The Koromantyn ſlaves, in the pariſh of St. Mary, roſe into rebellion, and the Maroons were called upon, according to treaty, to cooperate in their ſuppreſſion. A party of them accordingly arrived at the ſcene of action, the ſecond or third day after the rebellion had broken out. The whites had already defeated the inſurgents, in a pitched battle, at *Heywood-Hall*, killed eight or nine of their number, and driven the remainder into the woods. The Maroons were ordered to purſue them, and were promiſed a certain reward for each rebel they might kill or take priſoner. They accordingly puſhed into the woods, and after rambling about for a day or two, returned with a collection of human ears, which they pretended to have cut off from the heads of rebels they had ſlain in battle, the particulars of which they minutely related. Their report was believed, and they received the money ſtipulated to be paid them; yet it was afterwards found that they had not killed a man; that no engagement had taken place, and that the ears which they had produced, had been ſevered from the dead negroes which had lain unburied at Heywood-Hall.

Some few days after this, as the Maroons and a detachment of the 74th regiment were ſtationed at a ſolitary place, ſurrounded by deep woods, called Downs's Cove, the detachment was ſuddenly attacked in the middle of the night by the rebels. The centinels were ſhot, and the huts in which the ſoldiers were lodged, were ſet on fire. The light of the flames, while it expoſed the troops, ſerved to conceal the rebels, who poured in a ſhower of muſquetry from all quarters, and many of the ſoldiers were ſlain. Major Forſyth, who commanded the detachment, formed his men into a ſquare, and by keeping up a briſk fire from all ſides, at length compelled the enemy to retire. During the whole of this affair the Maroons were not to be found, and Forſyth, for ſome time, ſuſpected that they were themſelves the aſſailants. It was diſcovered, however, that immediately on the attack, the whole body of them had thrown themſelves flat on the ground, and continued in that poſition until the rebels retreated, without firing or receiving a ſhot.

A party of them, indeed, had afterwards the merit (a merit of which they loudly boaſted) of killing the leader of the rebels. He was a young negro of the Koromantyn nation, named Tackey, and it was ſaid had been of free condition, and even a chieftain, in Africa. This unfortunate man, having ſeen moſt of his companions ſlaughtered, was diſcovered wandering in the woods without arms or clothing, and was immediately purſued by the Maroons, *in full cry*. The chaſe was of no long duration; he was ſhot through the head; and, it is painful to relate, but unqueſtionably true, that his ſavage purſuers, having decollated the body, in order to preſerve the head as the trophy of victory, *roaſted and actually devoured the heart and entrails of the wretched victim**!

The miſconduct of theſe people in this rebellion, whether proceeding from cowardice or treachery, was, however, overlooked. Living ſecluded from the reſt of the community, they were ſuppoſed to have no knowledge of the rules and reſtraints to which all other claſſes of the inhabitants were ſubject; and the vigilance of juſtice (notwithſtanding what has recently happened) ſeldom purſued them, even for offences of the moſt atrocious nature.

In truth, it always ſeemed to me, that the whites in general entertained an opinion of the uſefulneſs of the Maroons, which no part of their conduct, at any one period, confirmed.—Poſſibly their perſonal appearance contributed, in ſome degree, to preſerve the deluſion; for, ſavage as they were in manners and diſpoſition, their mode of living and daily purſuits undoubtedly ſtrengthened the frame, and ſerved to exalt them to great bodily perfection. Such fine perſons are ſeldom beheld among any other claſs of African or native blacks. Their demeanour is lofty, their walk firm, and their perſons erect. Every motion diſplays a combination of ſtrength and agility. The muſcles (neither hidden nor depreſſed by clothing) are very prominent and ſtrongly marked. Their ſight withal is wonderfully acute, and their hearing remarkably quick. Theſe characteriſticks, however, are common, I believe, to all ſavage nations, in warm and temperate climates; and, like other ſavages, the Maroons have only thoſe ſenſes perfect, which are kept in conſtant exerciſe. Their ſmell is obtuſe, and their taſte ſo depraved, that I have ſeen them drink new rum freſh from the ſtill, in preference to wine which I offered them; and I remember, at a great feſtival in one of their towns, which I attended, that their higheſt luxury, in point of food, was ſome rotten beef, which had been originally ſalted in Ireland, and which was probably preſented to them, by ſome perſon who knew their taſte, *becauſe it was putrid.*

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* The circumſtances that I have related concerning the conduct of the Maroons, in the rebellion of 1760, are partly founded on my own knowledge and perſonal obſervation at the time (having been myſelf preſent) or from the teſtimony of eye-witneſſes, men of character and probity. The ſhocking fact laſt mentioned was atteſted by ſeveral white people, and was not attempted to be denied or concealed by the Maroons themſelves. They ſeemed indeed to make it the ſubject of boaſting and triumph.

SUCH was the ſituation of the Maroon negroes of Jamaica, previous to their late revolt; and the picture which I have drawn of their character and manners, was delineated from the life, after long experience and obſervation. Of that revolt I ſhall now proceed to deſcribe the cauſe, progreſs, and termination; and, if I know myſelf, without partiality or prejudice.

SECTION III.

IN the month of July 1795, two Maroons from Trelawney Town, having committed a felony in ſtealing ſome pigs, were apprehended, ſent to Montego Bay, and there tried for the offence, according to law. Having been found guilty by the jury, the magiſtrates ordered each of them to receive thirty-nine laſhes on the bare back. The ſentence was executed accordingly. They were whipped in the workhouſe, by the black overſeer of the workhouſe negroes; the perſon whoſe office it is to inflict puniſhment on ſuch occaſions. The offenders were then immediately diſcharged; and they went off, with ſome of their companions, abuſing and inſulting every white perſon whom they met in the road.

ON their return to Trelawney Town, and giving an account of what had paſſed, the whole body of Maroons immediately aſſembled; and after violent debates and altercations among themſelves, a party of them repaired to Captain Craſkell, the ſuperintendant, and ordered him, in the name of the whole, to quit the town forthwith, under pain of death. He retired to Vaughan's field, a plantation in the neighbourhood; and exerted himſelf, by friendly meſſages and otherwiſe, to pacify the Maroons; but without effect. They ſent a *written defiance* to the magiſtrates of Montego Bay, declaring their intention to meet the white people in arms, and threatening to attack the town on the 20th of that month (July). In the meanwhile an attempt was made on Captain Craſkell's life, and he very narrowly eſcaped.

Alarmed by the receipt of this letter, and the intelligence which was received of the temper and diſpoſition of the Maroons, the magiſtrates applied to General Palmer, requeſting him to call out the militia; which was done; and the General ſent an expreſs to the Earl of Balcarres, in Spaniſh Town, praying his Lordſhip to ſend down a detachment of the Jamaica dragoons. Eighty men were accordingly ſent, well accoutred and mounted.

The militia aſſembled on the 19th of July, to the number of four hundred; and while they were waiting for orders, one of the Maroons, armed with a lance, made his appearance, and informed the commanding officer, that they wiſhed to have a conference in Trelawney Town, with John Tharp, Eſq. (the Cuſtos and Chief Magiſtrate of Trelawney) Meſſrs. Stewart and Hodges, the Members in the Aſſembly, and Jarvis Gallimore, Eſq. Colonel of the Militia.

As this meſſage ſeemed to manifeſt a diſinclination, on the part of the chief body of the Maroons, to proceed to hoſtilities, the gentlemen above named very readily accepted the invitation, and proceeded to the town the next day (the 20th.) They were accompanied by Colonel Thomas Reed, of the St. James's militia, a very diſtinguiſhed and gallant officer, and a man of the higheſt honour and character; by other perſons of conſideration; and alſo by Major James, whoſe ſon had formerly acted as ſuperintendant of the town, who was himſelf ſuperintendant-general of all the Maroon towns in the iſland, and was ſuppoſed to have more weight, and to poſſeſs greater influence, with the Maroons, than any other man in the country.

The Maroons received them under arms. There appeared about three hundred able men, all of whom had painted their faces for battle, and ſeemed ready for action; and they behaved with ſo much inſolence, that the gentlemen were at firſt exceedingly alarmed for their own ſafety. A conference however enſued; in which it was obſervable that the Maroons complained—not of the injuſtice or ſeverity of the puniſhment which had been inflicted on two of their companions; but of the diſgrace which they inſiſted the magiſtrates of Montego Bay had put on their whole body, by ordering the puniſhment to be inflicted in the workhouſe by the black overſeer or driver, and in the preſence of fugitive and felon negro ſlaves, many of whom they had themſelves apprehended *. They concluded by demanding reparation for this indignity; an addition to the lands they poſſeſſed; the diſmiſſion of Capt. Craſkell, and the appointment of Mr. James, their former ſuperintendant.

The gentlemen had certainly no authority to agree to any of theſe requiſitions, they promiſed however to ſtate their grievances to the commander in chief, and to recommend to the legiſlature to grant them an addition of land. In the meanwhile, they aſſured the Maroons they would requeſt the Governor to provide otherwiſe for Capt. Craſkell their ſuperintendant, and to re-appoint in his room their favourite Mr. James.

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* It certainly is to be wiſhed, that ſome little attention had been paid, by the magiſtrates, to the pride or the prejudices of the Maroons in this reſpect. The law however is wholly ſilent on this head, and the court had a right to exerciſe its diſcretion.

With theſe aſſurances the Maroons ſeemed pacified, and declared they had nothing further to aſk; and the gentlemen, having diſtributed a conſiderable ſum of money amongſt them, returned to Montego Bay.

It ſoon appeared, however, that the Maroons, in deſiring this conference, were actuated ſolely by motives of treachery. They were apprized that a fleet of 150 ſhips was to ſail for Great Britain on the morning of the 26th; and they knew that very few Britiſh troops remained in the iſland, except the 83d regiment, and that this very regiment was, at that juncture, under orders to embark for St. Domingo; they hoped, therefore, by the ſpecious and deluſive appearance of deſiring a conference, to quiet the ſuſpicion, until the July fleet was ſailed, and the regulars fairly departed. In the meanwhile, they pleaſed themſelves with the hope of prevailing on the negro ſlaves throughout the iſland to join them: and by riſing in a maſs, to enable them to exterminate the whites at a blow.

The very day the conference was held, they began tampering with the negroes on the numerous and extenſive plantations in the neighbourhood of Montego Bay *. On ſome of theſe plantations their emiſſaries were cordially received and ſecreted: on others, the ſlaves themſelves voluntarily apprized their overſeers, that the Maroons were endeavouring to ſeduce them from their allegiance. Information of this nature was tranſmitted from many reſpectable quarters; but moſt of the gentlemen who had viſited the Maroons on the 20th, were ſo

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* Trelawney Town is ſituated within twenty miles of the town and harbour of Montego Bay.

confident of their *fidelity* and *affection*, that the Governor, diſbelieving the charges againſt them, was prevailed on to let the troops embark as originally intended, and they actually ſailed from Port Royal on the morning of the 29th, under convoy of the Succeſs frigate.

In the courſe of that, and the two ſucceeding days, however, ſuch intelligence was received at the Government houſe, as left no poſſible room to doubt the treachery of theſe *faithful* and *affectionate* people; and the earl of Balcarres, with that promptitude and deciſion which diſtinguiſh his character, determined on a line of conduct adapted to the importance of the occaſion. The courſe from Port Royal to St. Domingo (as the reader is perhaps informed) is altogether againſt the wind, and there is ſometimes a ſtrong lee current; as was fortunately the caſe at this juncture. Theſe were favourable circumſtances, and afforded the Governor room to hope that the tranſports which conveyed the troops might poſſibly be overtaken at ſea, by a faſt ſailing boat, from the eaſt end of the iſland, furniſhed with oars for rowing in the night. His Lordſhip was not miſtaken; the boat which was provided came up with them on the 2d of Auguſt, off the north-eaſt end of Jamaica, and delivered orders to Captain Pigot of the Succeſs, forthwith to change his courſe, and proceed with the tranſports down the north ſide of the Iſland of Montego Bay. Captain Pigot immediately obeyed; and it is probable that by this happy accident the country was ſaved.

The 83d regiment, conſiſting of upwards of one thouſand effective men, commanded by Colonel Fitch, landed at Montego Bay on Tueſday the 4th of Auguſt. At this moment, although

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the militia of this part of the country were under arms, and had been joined by the detachment of light dragoons, the utmoſt anxiety was viſible in every countenance. The July fleet was ſailed; and the certainty that the Maroons had collected great quantities of arms and ammunition;—that they had been tampering with the ſlaves, and the uncertainty of the ſucceſs and extent of their machinations, had caſt a gloom on the face of every man; and while rumours of plots and conſpiracies diſtracted the minds of the ignorant, many among the moſt thoughtful and conſiderate, anticipated all the horrors of St. Domingo, and in imagination already beheld their houſes and plantations in flames, and their wives and children bleeding under the ſwords of the moſt mercileſs of aſſaſſins.

THE ſudden and unexpected arrival of ſo powerful a reinforcement, in the moſt critical moment, immediately changed the ſcene. But further meaſures were adopted. By the advice of a council of war, compoſed chiefly of members of the Aſſembly, the Governor put the whole iſland under martial law. A further reinforcement of 130 well-mounted dragoons, under the command of Colonel Sandford, and a detachment of 100 men of the 62d regiment, were ſent down on the 3d: Colonel Walpole, with 150 diſmounted dragoons, embarked at the ſame time for Black River, to command the forces of St. Elizabeth and Weſtmoreland, and on the morning of the 4th, the Governor himſelf left Spaniſh Town for Montego Bay; determined to command on the ſcene of action in perſon.

THE reader will eaſily conceive, that meaſures of ſuch extent and magnitude were not adopted ſolely in the belief that the Maroons alone were concerned. It muſt be repeated, that the moſt certain and abundant proofs had been tranſmitted to the commander in chief, of their attempts to create a general revolt of the enſlaved negroes, and it was impoſſible to foreſee the reſult. The ſituation of the ſlaves, under prevailing circumſtances, required the moſt ſerious attention. With the recent examples before their eyes of the dreadful inſurrection in St. Domingo, they had been accuſtomed, for the preceding ſeven years, to hear of nothing but Mr. Wilberforce, and his efforts to ſerve them in Great Britain. Means of information were not wanting. Inſtructors were conſtantly found among the black ſervants continually returning from England; and I have not the ſmalleſt doubt that the negroes on every plantation in the Weſt Indies, were taught to believe that their maſters were generally conſidered in the mother-country, as a ſet of odious and abominable miſcreants, whom it was laudable to maſſacre!

The wiſdom, deciſion, and activity of the Earl of Balcarres, on the preſent occaſion, defeated their projects. The effect of his Lordſhip's conduct thenceforward, on the minds of the enſlaved negroes throughout the whole country, was wonderful. Submiſſion, tranquillity, and good order prevailed univerſally among them. The circumſtance attending the return of the 83d regiment, induced them to believe that Heaven itſelf had declared in favour of the whites, and that all attempts at reſiſtance were unavailing and impious.

The Maroons themſelves became divided in their councils. Many of the old and experienced among them, even in Trelawney Town, the head quarters of ſedition, recommended peace; and adviſed their companions to poſtpone their vengeance

ance to a better opportunity; and the whole of the *Accompong* people declared in favour of the whites. It was determined, however, by a very great majority of the Trelawney Maroons, *to fight the Bucras* (meaning the white people). The violent councils of the younger part of their community prevailed; moſt of whom were inflamed with a degree of ſavage fury againſt the whites, which ſet at nought all conſiderations of prudence and policy.

THE commander in chief, however, previous to any hoſtile movement, determined to try once more to effect an accommodation. As it was evident the Maroons conſulted ſome perſon who could read and write, his Lordſhip, on the 8th of Auguſt, ſent into their town a written meſſage or ſummons in the following words:

To the Maroons of Trelawney Town.

" YOU have entered into a moſt unprovoked, ungrateful, and moſt dangerous rebellion.

" YOU have driven away the ſuperintendant placed over you by the laws of this country.

" YOU have treated him, your Commander, with indignity and contempt. You have endeavoured to maſſacre him.

" YOU have put the Magiſtrates of the country, and all the white people, at defiance.

" YOU have challenged and offered them battle.

" YOU have forced the country, which has long cheriſhed and ſuffered you as its children, to conſider you as an enemy.

"Martial law has in conſequence been proclaimed.

"Every paſs to your town has been occupied and guarded by the militia and regular forces.

"You are ſurrounded by thouſands.

"Look at Montego Bay, and you will ſee the force brought againſt you.

"I have iſſued a proclamation, offering a reward for your heads; that terrible edict will not be put in force before Thurſday, the 13th day of Auguſt.

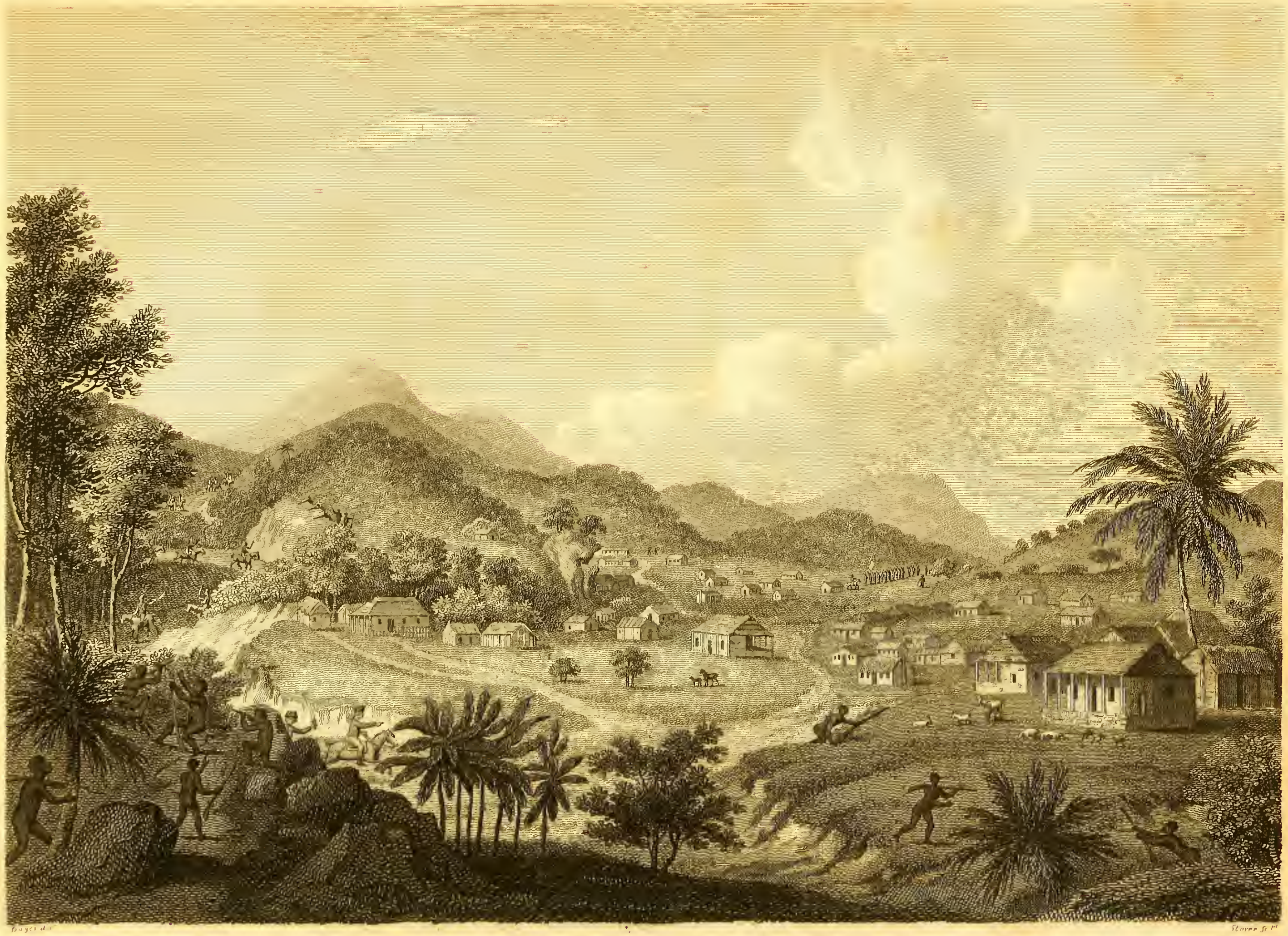
"To avert theſe proceedings, I adviſe and command every Maroon of Trelawney Town, capable of bearing arms, to appear before me at Montego Bay, on Wedneſday, the 12th day of Auguſt inſtant, and there ſubmit themſelves to his Majeſty's mercy.

"On ſo doing, you will eſcape the effects of the dreadful command, ordered to be put into execution on Thurſday, the 13th day of Auguſt; on which day, in failure of your obedience to this ſummons, your town ſhall be burnt to the ground, and for ever deſtroyed.

"And whereas it appears that other negroes, beſides the Maroons of Trelawney Town, were there under arms on the day that town was viſited by John Tharp, Eſq. and ſeveral other magiſtrates of the pariſh of Trelawney, you are ſtrictly commanded and enjoined to bring ſuch ſtranger negroes to Montego Bay, as priſoners, on or before the before-mentioned Wedneſday, the 12th day of Auguſt inſtant.

"BALCARRES."

Apprehensive, however, that this ſummons would have but little effect, the Governor at the ſame time gave orders that the



Bayes del.

Storer sc.

TRELAWNEY TOWN, *the* CHIEF RESIDENCE *of the* MAROONS.

Publiſh'd Sept. 25, 1800, by John Stockdale, Piccadilly.

the regulars and militia ſhould take poſſeſſion of all the known paths leading to Trelawney Town from the ſurrounding pariſhes; and the troops arrived at their reſpective ſtations early on the 9th.

On the morning of the 11th, thirty-eight of the Trelawney Maroons, being chiefly old men, ſurrendered themſelves to the Governor's mercy, at Vaughan's-field, and frankly declared, that, with regard to the reſt of the town, they were determined on war. "*The devil*, they ſaid, *had got into them*," and nothing but ſuperiority of force would bring them to reaſon.

Two of the thirty-eight were, however, ſent back to try, for the laſt time, if perſuaſion would avail; but they were detained by the reſt, who, having ſecreted their women and children, *paſſed the Rubicon* the enſuing night, by ſetting fire themſelves to their town, and commencing hoſtilities on the outpoſts of the army. The attack fell chiefly on the St. James's company of free people of colour, of whom two were killed and ſix wounded: and thus began this unfortunate war.

The Maroons immediately afterwards aſſembled in a body, near a ſmall village which was called their *New* Town, behind which were their proviſion grounds.—On the afternoon of the 12th, orders were given to Lieutenant Colonel Sandford to march with a detachment of the 18th and 20th dragoons, and a party of the horſe militia, and take poſſeſſion of thoſe grounds the ſame evening; it being the Governor's intention to attack the Maroons at the ſame time, in front. Colonel Sandford proceeded accordingly, accompanied by a body of volunteers; but having been informed that the Maroons had retired to the ruins of their old town, he was perſuaded, inſtead of waiting at his poſt for further orders from the Governor, to proceed beyond his limits, and to puſh after the enemy; a moſt unfortunate and fatal determination, to which this gallant officer, and many valuable men, fell a ſacrifice. The retreat of the Maroons from the New Town, was a feint to draw the whites into an ambuſcade, which unfortunately ſucceeded. The road between the new and old towns was very bad and very narrow; and the troops had marched about half way, the regulars in front, the militia in the centre, and the volunteers in the rear, when a heavy fire enſued from the buſhes. Colonel Sandford was among the firſt that fell, and with him periſhed Quarter Maſter M'Bride, ſix privates of the 20th, and eight of the 18th light dragoons. Of the militia, thirteen were ſlain outright, and, among the reſt, the commanding officer, Colonel Gallimore; eight of the volunteers alſo were killed, and many of all deſcriptions wounded. The troops, however, puſhed forward, and drove the Maroons from their hiding places, and after a night of unparalleled hardſhip, the ſurvivors got back to Vaughan's-field in the morning, and brought with them moſt of their wounded companions *.

Thus terminated this diſaſtrous and bloody conflict; in which it was never known with certainty, that a ſingle Maroon

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* Among the officers of the militia who eſcaped on this occaſion, was my late excellent and lamented friend *George Goodin Barrett*. He was attended on that day by a favourite Negro Servant; of whom it is related that, during the firſt attack, perceiving a Maroon from behind a tree preſent his gun at his beloved maſter, he inſtantly ruſhed forward to protect him, by interpoſing his own perſon; and actually received the ſhot in his breaſt. I rejoice to add, that the wound was not mortal, and that the poor fellow has been rewarded as he deſerved, for ſuch an inſtance of heroick fidelity as hiſtory has ſeldom recorded.

loſt his life. Their triumph therefore was great, and many of the beſt informed among the planters, in conſequence of it, again anticipated the moſt dreadful impending calamities. So general was the alarm, that the Governor thought it neceſſary, in a proclamation which he iſſued on the occaſion, to make publick the orders he had given to Colonel Sandford, and to declare in expreſs terms, that if the detachment under that officer's command had remained at the poſt which it was directed to occupy, the Maroons, in all probability, would have been compelled to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war. "Soldiers will learn from this fatal leſſon (adds his Lordſhip moſt truly) the indiſpenſable neceſſity of ſtrictly adhering to orders. An exceſs of ardour is often as prejudicial to the accompliſhment of any military enterprize, as cowardice itſelf."—The truth was, that the whole detachment held the enemy in too great contempt. They marched forth in the confidence of certain victory, and never having had any experience of the Maroons mode of fighting, diſregarded the advice of ſome faithful negro attendants, who apprized them of it. Happily the claſs of people on whom the Maroons relied for ſupport, remained peaceably diſpoſed; nor did an inſtance occur to raiſe a doubt of their continuing to do ſo.

By the death of Sandford, the command, in the Governor's abſence, devolved on Colonel Fitch, an officer whoſe general deportment and character excited great expectation; but the Maroons found means to elude his vigilance. They had now eſtabliſhed their head quarters at a place in the interior country, of moſt difficult acceſs, called the *Cockpits*; a ſort of valley or dell, ſurrounded by ſteep precipices and broken rocks, and by mountains of prodigious height; in the caverns of which they had ſecreted their women and children, and depoſited their ammunition. From this retreat (almoſt inacceſſible to any but themſelves) they ſent out ſmall parties of their ableſt and moſt enterprizing young men, ſome of which were employed in prowling about the country in ſearch of proviſions, and others in ſetting fire by night to ſuch houſes and plantations as were unprovided with a ſufficient guard. In the beginning of September, they burnt the habitation and ſettlement of Mr. George Gordon, called Kenmure; and ſoon afterwards the dwelling-houſe and buildings of a coffee plantation, called Lapland; the proprietor too ſuſtained the ſtill greater loſs of thirty valuable negroes, whom the Maroons compelled to go with them, loaden with plunder. Another plantation, called Catadupa, was deſtroyed by them in the ſame manner, and ten of the negroes carried off. About the ſame time, they burnt the property of John Shand, Eſq.; a ſettlement belonging to Meſſrs. Stevens and Bernard, a plantation called Bandon, a houſe of a Mr. Lewis, and various others.

At theſe places ſeveral white people unfortunately fell into their hands, all of whom were murdered in cold blood, without any diſtinction of ſex, or regard to age. Even women in childbed, and infants at the breaſt, were alike indiſcriminately ſlaughtered by this ſavage enemy; and the ſhrieks of the miſerable victims, which were diſtinctly heard at the poſts of the Britiſh detachments, frequently conveyed the firſt notice, that the Maroons were in the neighbourhood.

The late Mr. Gowdie, a reſpectable and venerable planter, who lived within a few miles of Trelawney Town, was remarkable. This gentleman, having a better opinion of the Maroons than they deſerved, had employed oné of their chief men to act as the overſeer or ſuperintendant of his plantation, whom he treated with ſingular kindneſs, and allowed him the ſame wages as would have been paid to a white perſon in the ſame capacity. Although, on the commencement of hoſtilities, this man had joined the inſurgents, Mr. Gowdie continued to place a fatal dependance on his fidelity, and was induced to viſit his own plantation, as often as his neceſſary attendance on military duty would allow. He had the moſt perfect confidence that his Maroon overſeer would interfere to protect him from danger; yet did this barbarous villain come himſelf to the houſe of his benefactor, at the head of a band of ſavages, and having coolly informed Mr. Gowdie, that the Maroons had taken an oath, after their manner, to murder all the whites without diſtinction, he maſſacred both him and his nephew (the only white perſon with him) without compunction or remorſe.

But, perhaps, no one circumſtance in the courſe of this moſt unfortunate war excited greater indignation, or awakened more general ſympathy, than the death of Colonel Fitch, who, notwithſtanding the recent example of Colonel Sandford's fate, periſhed nearly in the ſame manner as that unfortunate officer had done; being like him ſurpriſed by an enemy in ambuſh. On the 12th of September he went out with a detachment of the 83d regiment, conſiſting of thirty-two men, to relieve ſome diſtant out-poſts; at one of which he left a guard, and proceeded onwards with the reſt of his men; but after getting about half a mile farther, he was attacked by a volley of muſquetry from the buſhes, and received a wound in the breaſt, with which he dropt. After expreſſing a wiſh, and receiving aſſurances, that he ſhould not fall alive into the hands of the mercileſs ſavages, he raiſed himſelf up; when another ball took place in his forehead, which inſtantly put an end to his life. A corporal and three privates of the 83d, and two negro ſervants, were alſo killed, and Captain Leigh and nine of the party wounded; and if the guard, which had been left behind, had not puſhed forward to their aſſiſtance, immediately on hearing the firing, not one of the whole detachment would have eſcaped with life; two of them actually fell into the hands of the enemy, and were put to death with circumſtances of outrageous barbarity, and Captain Leigh afterwards died of his wounds. The misfortune of this day was aggravated too by a circumſtance, which, though ſhocking to relate, muſt not be omitted, as it ſtrongly marks the baſe and ferocious character of the Maroons. When the remains of Colonel Fitch were found, a day or two afterwards, by a party ſent to give them the rites of ſepulture, it was perceived that the head had been ſeparated from the body, and was entombed *in the ill-fated officer's own bowels!*

It now became evident, that it would prove a work of greater difficulty than was imagined, to ſtop the depredations which were daily and hourly committed by this horde of ſavages, and it was allowed that extraordinary meaſures were neceſſary in order to counteract their conſtant practice of planting ambuſhes. Neither the courage nor conduct of the beſt diſciplined troops in the world could always avail againſt men, who, lurking in ſecret like the tygers of Africa (themſelves unſeen) had no object but murder. The legiſlative bodies of the iſland were ſoon to meet, and the hopes of the whole community reſted on their councils.

SECTION IV.

THE General Aſſembly was convened the latter end of September, and their firſt deliberations were directed to the ſubject of the Maroon rebellion, with a ſolicitude equal to its importance. On this occaſion it was natural to recur to the experience of former times, and enquire into the meaſures that had been ſucceſsfully adopted in the long and bloody war, which previous to the treaty of 1738, had been carried on againſt the ſame enemy. The expedient which had then been reſorted to, of employing dogs to diſcover the concealment of the Maroons, and prevent the fatal effects which reſulted from their mode of fighting in ambuſcade, was recommended as a fit example to be followed in the preſent conjuncture; and it being known that the Spaniſh Americans poſſeſſed a certain ſpecies of thoſe animals, which it was judged would be proper for ſuch a ſervice, the Aſſembly reſolved to ſend to the iſland of Cuba for one hundred of them, and to engage a ſufficient number of the Spaniſh huntſmen, to attend and direct their operations. The employment to which theſe dogs are generally put by the Spaniards, is the purſuit of wild bullocks, which they ſlaughter for the hides; and the great uſe of the dog is to drive the cattle from ſuch heights,

heights and receſſes in the mountainous parts of the country, as are leaſt acceſſible to the hunters.

The aſſembly were not unapprized that the meaſure of calling in ſuch auxiliaries, and urging the canine ſpecies to the purſuit of human beings, would probably give riſe to much obſervation and animadverſion in the mother-country. Painful experience on other occaſions, had taught them, that their conduct in the preſent caſe, would be ſcrutinized with all the rigid and jealous circumſpection which ignorance and hatred, and envy and malice, and pretended humanity and fanaticiſm, could exerciſe. The horrible enormities of the Spaniards in the conqueſt of the new world, would be brought again to remembrance. It is mournfully true, that dogs were uſed by thoſe chriſtian barbarians againſt the peaceful and inoffenſive Americans, and the juſt indignation of all mankind has ever ſince branded, and will continue to brand, the Spaniſh nation with infamy, for ſuch atrocities. It was foreſeen, and ſtrongly urged as an argument againſt recurring to the ſame weapon in the preſent caſe, that the prejudices of party and the virulent zeal of faction and bigotry, would place the proceedings of the Aſſembly on this occaſion, in a point of view equally odious with the conduct of Spain on the ſame blood-ſtained theatre, in times paſt. No reaſonable allowance would be made for the wide difference exiſting between the two caſes. Some gentlemen even thought that the co-operation of dogs with Britiſh troops, would give not only a cruel, but alſo a very daſtardly complexion to the proceedings of government.

To theſe, and ſimilar objections, it was anſwered, that the ſafety of the iſland, and the lives of the inhabitants were not to be ſacrificed to perverſe miſconſtruction or wilful miſrepreſentation in the mother-country. It was maintained that the grounds of the meaſure needed only to be fully examined into, and fairly ſtated, to induce all reaſonable men to admit its propriety and neceſſity. To hold it as a principle, that it is an act of cruelty or cowardice in man to employ other animals as inſtruments of war, is a poſition contradicted by the practice of all nations.—The Aſiaticks have ever uſed elephants in their battles; and if lions and tygers poſſeſſed the docility of the elephant, no one can doubt that theſe alſo would be made to aſſiſt the military operations of man, in thoſe regions of which they are inhabitants. Even the uſe of cavalry, as eſtabliſhed among the moſt civilized and poliſhed nations of Europe, muſt be rejected, if this principle be admitted; for wherein, it was aſked, does the humanity of that doctrine conſiſt, which allows the employment of troops of horſe in the purſuit of diſcomfited and flying infantry; yet ſhrinks at the preventive meaſure of ſparing the effuſion of human blood, by tracing with hounds the haunts of murderers, and rouſing from ambuſh ſavages more ferocious and blood-thirſty than the animals which track them?

The merits of the queſtion, it was ſaid, depended altogether on the origin and cauſe of the war; and the objects ſought to be obtained by its continuance; and the authority of the firſt writers on publick law, was adduced in ſupport of this conſtruction. "If the cauſe and end of war (ſays Paley *) be juſtifiable, all the means that appear neceſſary to that end are juſtifiable alſo. This is the principle which defends thoſe extremities to which

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* Moral Philoſophy, vol. ii. p. 417.

the violence of war uſually proceeds: for ſince war is a conteſt by force between parties who acknowledge no common ſuperior, and ſince it includes not in its idea the ſuppoſition of any convention which ſhould place limits to the operations of force, it has naturally no boundary but that in which force terminates; the deſtruction of the life againſt which the force is directed." It was allowed (with the ſame author) that gratuitous barbarities borrow no excuſe from the licence of war, of which kind is every cruelty and every inſult that ſerves only to exaſperate the ſufferings, or to incenſe the hatred of an enemy, without weakening his ſtrength, or in any manner tending to procure his ſubmiſſion; ſuch as the ſlaughter of captives, the ſubjecting them to indignities or torture, the violation of women, and in general the deſtruction or defacing of works that conduce nothing to annoyance or defence. Theſe enormities are prohibited not only by the practice of civilized nations, but by the law of nature itſelf; as having no proper tendency to accelerate the termination, or accompliſh the object of the war; and as containing that which in peace and war is equally unjuſtifiable, namely, *ultimate and gratuitous miſchief.* Now all theſe very enormities were practiſed, not by the Whites againſt the Maroons, but by the Maroons themſelves againſt the Whites. Humanity therefore, it was ſaid, was no way concerned in the ſort of expedient that was propoſed, or any other, by which ſuch an enemy could moſt ſpeedily be extirpated. They were not an unarmed, innocent and defenceleſs race of men, like the ancient Americans; but a banditti of aſſaſſins: and tenderneſs towards ſuch an enemy, was cruelty to all the reſt of the community.

Happily, in the interval between the determination of the Aſſembly, to procure the Spaniſh dogs, and the actual arrival of thoſe auxiliaries from Cuba, ſuch meaſures were purſued as promiſed to render their aſſiſtance altogether unneceſſary.—On the death of Colonel Fitch, the chief conduct of the war, in the abſence of the Governor, was entruſted to Major General Walpole, an officer whoſe indefatigable zeal and alacrity, whoſe gallantry, circumſpection, and activity, in a very ſhort time gave a new aſpect to affairs, and reduced the enemy to the laſt extremity. Although the country to which the Maroons retired, was perhaps the ſtrongeſt and moſt impracticable of any on the face of the earth, it was entirely deſtitute of ſprings and rivers. All the water which the rains had left in the hollows of the rocks was exhauſted, and the enemy's only reſource was in the leaves of the *wild-pine*; a wonderful contrivance, by which Divine Providence has rendered the ſterile and rocky deſarts of the torrid zone in ſome degree habitable*; but even this reſource was at length exhauſted, and the ſufferings of the rebels, for want both of water and food, were exceſſive. By the unremitting diligence and indefatigable exertions of the troops, all or moſt of the paſſes to other parts of the country were effectually occupied; and a perſeverence

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* The botanical name is *Tillandſia maxima*. It is not, properly ſpeaking, *a tree*, but a plant, which fixes itſelf and takes root on the body of a tree, commonly in the fork of the greater branches of the wild cotton tree. By the conformation of its leaves, it catches and retains water from every ſhower. Each leaf reſembles a ſpout, and forms at its baſe a natural bucket or reſervoir, which contains about a quart of pure water, where it remains perfectly ſecure, both from the wind and the ſun; yielding refreſhment to the thirſty traveller in places where water is not otherwiſe to be procured.

in the ſame ſyſtem muſt, it was thought, ſoon force the enemy to an unconditional ſurrender.

In ſpite of all theſe precautions, however, a rebel Captain, of the name of Johnſon, found means to conduct a ſmall detachment of the Maroons into the pariſh of St. Elizabeth, and to ſet fire to many of the plantations in that fertile diſtrict. His firſt attempt was againſt the habitation of a Mr. M'Donald, whoſe neighbour, a Mr. Haldane, together with his ſon, haſtened to his aſſiſtance. The elder Haldane unfortunately fell by a muſket ball, but the ſon ſhot the Maroon dead that fired it, and carried his wounded father in his arms to a place of ſafety, where he happily recovered.—The Maroons were repulſed; but proceeding to a plantation of Dr. Brooks, they burnt the buildings to the ground, and killed two white men. They left, however, a white woman and her infant unmoleſted; and as this was the firſt inſtance of tenderneſs ſhewn by the rebels to women and children, it was imputed rather to the conſciouſneſs of their inability to continue the war, and the hopes of getting better terms on a treaty by this act of lenity, than to any change in their diſpoſition.

The earl of Balcarres, as ſoon as the buſineſs of the Aſſembly would allow him to be abſent from the capital, returned in perſon to the ſcene of action, and it is impoſſible to ſpeak of his, and General Walpole's exertions, in terms of ſufficient approbation, or to convey any juſt idea of the fatigues and hardſhips which the troops underwent, without entering into a copious detail of the various enterprizes and ſkirmiſhes that enſued, and the difficulties they had to encounter from the nature of the country. The line of operation extended upwards of twenty miles in length, through tracks and glades of which the military term *defile*, gives no adequate conception. The caves in which the Maroons concealed their ammunition and proviſions, and ſecured their women and children, were inacceſſible to the Whites. The place called the *Cockpits*, before-mentioned, could be reached only by a path down a ſteep rock, 150 feet in almoſt perpendicular height. Strange as it may appear, this obſtacle was ſurmounted by the Maroons without difficulty. Habituated to employ their naked feet with ſingular effect, in climbing up trees and precipices, they had acquired a dexterity in the practice, which to Britiſh troops was altogether aſtoniſhing and wholly inimitable. On the other hand, all the officers and privates, both of the regulars and militia, from a well-founded confidence in their chief commanders, ſeem to have felt a noble emulation, which ſhould moſt diſtinguiſh themſelves for zeal in the cauſe, obedience to orders, and a cheerful alacrity in puſhing forward on every ſervice of difficulty and danger; ſuſtaining, without a murmur, many extraordinary hardſhips; among which, diſtreſs for want of water, and thirſt even to extremity, were none of the leaſt.

It was eaſily foreſeen that a perſeverance in the ſame line of conduct, muſt ultimately prove ſucceſsful; and intimations were at length received, by means of enſlaved negroes whom the Maroons had forced into their ſervice, and purpoſely diſmiſſed, that they were extremely deſirous of an accommodation, on any terms ſhort of capital puniſhment, or tranſportation from the country. They expreſſed a willingneſs, it was ſaid, to deliver up their arms, and all the fugitive ſlaves that had joined them, to ſurrender their lands, and intermix with the general body of free blacks, in ſuch parts of the country as the colonial government ſhould approve. Although theſe overtures were evidently dictated by depreciation and deſpair, it was the opinion of many wiſe and worthy men among the inhabitants, that they ought to be accepted; and it was ſaid that General Walpole himſelf concurred in the ſame ſentiment. It was urged that the war, if continued on the only principle by which it could be maintained, muſt be a war of extermination. Some few of the Maroons, however, would probably elude the laſt purſuit of vengeance; and theſe would form a central point to which the runaway negroes would reſort. Thus hoſtilities would be perpetuated for ever; and it was obſerved that a ſingle Maroon, in the ſeaſon of crop, with no other weapon than a firebrand, might deſtroy the cane-fields of many opulent pariſhes, and conſume in a few hours, property of immenſe value. To theſe conſiderations, was to be added the vaſt expence of continuing the war. The country had already expended £. 500,000, excluſive of the loſs which was ſuſtained by individual proprietors conſequent on the removal from their plantations of all the white ſervants, to attend military duty. In the meanwhile, cultivation was ſuſpended, the courts of law had long been ſhut up; and the iſland at large ſeemed more like a garriſon, under the power of the law-martial, than a country of agriculture and commerce, of civil judicature, induſtry, and proſperity.

On the other hand, it was loudly declared that a compromiſe with a lawleſs banditti, who had ſlaughtered ſo many excellent men, and had murdered in cold blood even women in child-bed, and infants at the breaſt, was a ſhameful ſacrifice of the publick honour; a total diſregard to the dictates of juſtice; an encouragement to the reſt of the Maroons to commit ſimilar outrages, and a dreadful example to the negroes in ſervitude; tending to impreſs on their minds an idea, not of the lenity of the Whites, but of their inability to puniſh ſuch atrocious offenders. It was alledged withal, that the rebel Maroons were not themſelves ſeriouſly deſirous of ſuch an accommodation. Their only purpoſe was to gain time, and procure an opportunity to get into better quarters; judging perhaps that the militia of the country, a large proportion of whom were at the diſtance of one hundred miles from their places of reſidence, would ſoon be tired of the conteſt. Many facts were indeed related, and ſome ſtrong circumſtances adduced, which gave a colour to this charge; and proved that the Maroons had not altogether relinquiſhed their hopes of creating a general revolt among the enſlaved negroes. Such an event was not likely to happen, while the country continued in arms. The diſmiſſion of the troops, on the fallacious idea of an accommodation with the Maroons, would alone, it was ſaid, realize the danger.

FORTUNATELY for all parties, this unnatural and deſtructive revolt, was brought to a happy termination much ſooner than might have been apprehended. On the 14th of December, the commiſſioner who went to the Havannah for aſſiſtance, arrived at Montego Bay, with forty *chaſſeurs* or Spaniſh hunters (chiefly people of colour) and about one hundred Spaniſh dogs. Such extraordinary accounts were immediately ſpread of the terrifick appearance, and ſavage nature of theſe animals, as made an impreſſion on the minds of the negroes, that was equally ſurpriſing and unexpected *.

WHETHER theſe reports were propagated through folly or deſign, they had certainly a powerful and very ſalutary effect on the fears of the rebel Maroons, a large party of whom now diſplayed ſtrong and indubitable evidences of terror, humiliation, and ſubmiſſion, and renewed their ſolicitations for peace with great earneſtneſs and anxiety. A negociation was at length opened, and a treaty concluded on the 21ſt of December, of which the chief articles were, 1ſt. That the Maroons ſhould, on their knees, aſk the King's pardon: 2dly. That they ſhould fix their future reſidence in ſuch part of the iſland, as the legiſlature ſhould point out: And 3dly. That they ſhould deliver up all the fugitive negro ſlaves that had joined them. On theſe conditions it was ſtipulated and agreed, that their lives ſhould be granted them, and that they ſhould not be tranſported from the iſland; and they were allowed ten days to collect their families and perform the treaty.

So great, however, was the terror of theſe wretched people, ariſing from the conſciouſneſs of their enormities, or their unaccountable infatuation, that only twenty-one of their number

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* Though theſe dogs are not in general larger than the ſhepherds dogs in Great Britain, (which in truth they much reſemble) they were repreſented as equal to the maſtiff in bulk, to the bull-dog in courage, to the blood-hound in ſcent, and to the grey-hound in agility. If entire credit had been given to the deſcription that was tranſmitted through the country of this extraordinary animal, it might have been ſuppoſed that the Spaniards had obtained the ancient and genuine breed of *Cerberus* himſelf, the many-headed monſter that guarded the infernal regions.

ſurrendered by the time limited; and thirteen others three days afterwards.

On the 14th of January, therefore, orders were iſſued from the commander in chief to General Walpole, to march without further delay againſt the rebels. Theſe orders were punctually obeyed; but, from regard to humanity, the Spaniſh dogs were ordered in the rear of the army. The effect, however, was immediate. General Walpole had advanced but a ſhort way in the woods, when a ſupplication for mercy was brought him from the enemy, and 260 of them ſoon afterwards ſurrendered *on no other condition than a promiſe of their lives.* It is pleaſing to obſerve, that not a drop of blood was ſpilt after the dogs arrived in the iſland.

Some of the young men, however, ſtill held out, and it was not until the middle of March that the rebellion was entirely extinguiſhed by the ſurrender of the whole body; *nor even then, or at any time before, were any of the fugitive negroes that had joined them delivered up.*

It might be ſuppoſed, therefore, that no queſtion could have ariſen whether the treaty was obſerved or not, on the part of the Maroons. Neverthleſs it did ſo happen, that doubts on this head were ſuggeſted on ſuch reſpectable authority, as induced the commander in chief, with great prudence and propriety, to leave the whole matter to the inveſtigation and determination of the Council and Aſſembly, who appointed a joint and ſecret committee to receive evidence and report on the facts before them.

On the report of this Committee the Aſſembly, by a majority of 21 to 13, came to the following reſolutions, among others, viz.

"THAT all the Maroons who ſurrendered after the firſt of January, not having complied with the terms of the treaty, are not entitled to the benefit thereof, and ought to be ſhipped off the iſland; but that they ought to be ſent to a country in which they will be free, and ſuch as may be beſt calculated, by ſituation, to ſecure the iſland againſt the danger of their return; that they ought to be provided with ſuitable clothing and neceſſaries for the voyage, and maintained at the publick expence of this iſland for a reaſonable time after their arrival at the place of their deſtination.

"THAT it is the opinion of this Houſe, that as there may be among the rebels a few who, by their repentance, ſervices, and good behaviour, ſince their ſurrender, have merited protection and favour, it be recommended to the lieutenant-governor to permit ſuch to remain in the iſland, together with their wives and children; and to diſtinguiſh them by any other marks of favour he may think proper."

OF the policy of ridding the country of ſuch an enemy (admitting the juſtice of the war on the part of the Whites) there could not have been, I ſhould have thought, but one opinion. After ſuch a war, carried on in ſuch a manner, it is impoſſible to believe, that a cordial reconciliation between the white inhabitants and the Maroons could ever have taken place. The latter would probably have continued a ſullen, ſubjugated people, employed only in ſeducing the enſlaved negroes from their fidelity, and ready to revolt themſelves, whenever occaſion ſhould offer. "No country on earth," ſays Rutherford, "would ſuffer a body of men to live within its territories, unleſs they would agree to be accountable to its laws, as far as the general ſecurity requires." To expect ſuch conduct from the Maroons, was to manifeſt a total ignorance of their diſpoſition. The determination therefore of the legiſlature of the colony to tranſport theſe people from the iſland being thus fixed, it remains only to point out in what manner it was enforced.

In the beginning of June 1796, his Majeſty's ſhip the Dover, with two tranſports in company, having on board the Trelawney Maroons (in number about ſix hundred) provided with all manner of neceſſaries, as well for their accommodation at ſea, as for the change of climate, ſailed from Blue-fields in Jamaica, for Halifax in North America. They were accompanied by William Dawes Quarrel, and Alexander Ouchterlony, Eſquires, commiſſioners appointed by the Aſſembly, with authority and inſtructions (ſubject to his Majeſty's approbation and further orders) to purchaſe lands in Nova Scotia, Lower Canada, or where elſe his Majeſty ſhould pleaſe to appoint, for the future eſtabliſhment and ſubſiſtence of thoſe Maroons, as a free people. The commiſſioners had orders withal, to provide them the means of a comfortable maintenance, until they were habituated to the country and climate. The ſum of £.25,000 was allowed by the Aſſembly for thoſe purpoſes. They arrived at Halifax in the month of July, and the following letter from Sir John Wentworth, Bart. the governor of the province, to a friend in London, dated the 10th of November 1796, will convey to the reader the cleareſt and moſt ſatisfactory account of their reception in the province, and of the meaſures happily adopted for their future eſtabliſhment and improvement. With this letter, which I have been permitted to copy from the original, I ſhall cloſe my account.

" THE Maroons are now comfortably ſettled, and their ſituation will be daily improving. They are hitherto quiet, orderly, and contented. I have long had experience uſeful for this occaſion, and have not a doubt but that theſe will be an happy and uſeful people. In this country they can do no harm; nor do they ſeem diſpoſed to do any. They are exceedingly attached to me. I have appointed a miſſionary and chaplain, with an aſſiſtant teacher, to perform the ſervice of the church of England; to inſtruct them in Chriſtianity, and to teach the youth and children to read, write, and cypher. Laſt Sunday I attended publick worſhip in their chapel, at opening the church. The Maroons were particularly attentive, decent, and moſt exceedingly delighted. Next Sunday many are to be baptized, and the remainder in due courſe. They are ſolicitous for this duty, and appear deſirous of inſtruction, from whence civilization will naturally reſult. The climate is and will be ſalutary to them. The children were emaciated, and moſt of the adults worn down by war, impriſonment, and ſea-ſickneſs: they are now healthy, ſtrong, and as hearty as any white people in the province. They are therefore, and I have no doubt will continue to be, infinitely benefited by their removal to Nova Scotia; and the moſt judicious and ſenſible among them, are perfectly ſatisfied, and happy in their future proſpects."

The following Votes and Proceedings of the Aſſembly, are added by way of Illuſtration.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY,

Friday, April 22, 1796.

RESOLVED, *nem. con.* That the Receiver General do remit the ſum of ſeven hundred guineas to the agent of the iſland, for the purpoſe of purchaſing a ſword, to be preſented to the Right Hon. ALEXANDER Earl of BALCARRES, as a teſtimony of the grateful ſenſe which the Houſe entertain of his diſtinguiſhed ſervices, diſplayed both in the field and cabinet; and under whoſe auſpices, by the bleſſing of Divine Providence, a happy and complete termination has been put to a moſt dangerous rebellion of the Trelawney-Town Maroons, whereby the general value of property, as well as ſecurity of the iſland, have been highly augmented.

ORDERED, That a copy of the above reſolution be ſent to his honour the Lieutenant-Governor.

RESOLVED, *nem. con.* That Mr. Speaker be requeſted to preſent the thanks of the Houſe to the Hon. Major-General WALPOLE, for the ſignal ſervices performed by him to this iſland, in the late rebellion of the Trelawney-Town Maroons.

RESOLVED, *nem. con.* That the Receiver-General do remit to the agent of this iſland, five hundred guineas, for the purpoſe of purchaſing a ſword, to be preſented to the Hon. Major-General WALPOLE, as a teſtimony of the grateful ſenſe which the

Houſe entertain of his important ſervices and diſtinguiſhed merit, in the ſuppreſſion of the late rebellion of the Trelawney-Town Maroons.

Resolved, *nem. con.* That Mr. Speaker be requeſted to give the thanks of the Houſe to the brave Officers and Privates of the regulars and militia, for their gallant ſervices to the iſland, during the late rebellion of the Trelawney-Town Maroons; and that the Commander in Chief, under whoſe auſpices they fought, be requeſted by Mr. Speaker, to communicate the high ſenſe which the Houſe entertain of their diſtinguiſhed merit.

Thurſday, April 28.

A Motion being made, that a Committee be appointed to enquire and report to the Houſe the names of ſuch perſons as have fallen in battle during the late rebellion, that a monument may be erected to perpetuate their memories, and the gratitude of this country for their eminent ſervices;

Ordered, That Mr. Fitch, Mr. Vaughan, Mr. Mathiſon, Mr. Stewart, and Mr. Hodges, be a Committee for that purpoſe.

Saturday, April 30.

The Lieutenant-Governor's anſwer to the meſſage from the Houſe, with the reſolution of the 22d inſt.

Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the Houſe of Aſſembly.

The preſent you have made me, by your unanimous reſolution of the 22d inſtant, is ineſtimable.

A ſoldier's honour, with emblem and emphaſis, is placed in his ſword; and I ſhall tranſmit your precious gift to my poſterity, as an everlaſting mark of the reverence, the attachment, and the gratitude, I bear to the iſland of Jamaica.

BALCARRES.

THE following addreſs was this day preſented to his honour the Lieutenant-Governor.

WE, his Majeſty's dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Aſſembly of Jamaica, beg leave to offer to your honour our moſt ſincere and cordial congratulations on the happy and complete termination of the rebellion of the Trelawney-Town Maroons.

THIS great and important event muſt be productive of ſubſtantial benefits and ſalutary conſequences to the country, in every point of view in which it can be contemplated: tranquillity and the enjoyment of our civil rights, are reſtored; publick credit, ſo eſſential to the ſupport of government, and to the proſperity, if not to the very exiſtence of the country, is re-eſtabliſhed, and our internal ſecurity greatly increaſed and confirmed.

FROM all theſe ineſtimable advantages, we look forward with confidence to the augmentation of the value of property, which is likely to take place; and which, in time, we truſt, will compenſate all the loſſes and expenditure of treaſure unavoidably incurred in the proſecution of the war.

IT is with peculiar ſatisfaction and gratitude we acknowledge the lively impreſſion made on us by the energy diſplayed by your Lordſhip in difficult operations of war; which affords the moſt convincing proof, that the zeal, ardour, and activity manifeſted in your military conduct, have only been equalled by the ſound policy, and deciſive meaſures, which marked the wiſdom of your councils.

HIS HONOUR'S ANSWER.

Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the Houſe of Aſſembly.

YOUR addreſs excites in my boſom every ſenſation of pleaſure, the mind of man is capable of receiving.

THE picture you have drawn of the future proſperity of the iſland, is ſtrong and impreſſive.

AFTER contemplating the unavoidable calamities of war, a ſentiment ariſes, grateful and ſoothing to a feeling heart—

THAT, during your conteſt with an enemy the moſt ferocious that ever diſgraced the annals of hiſtory:

THAT, during your conteſt with, an army of ſavages, who have indiſcriminately maſſacred every priſoner whom the fortune of war had placed in their power—no barbarity, nor a ſingle act of retaliation, has ſullied the brightneſs of your arms.

I PRAY that the energy, the vigour, and the humanity, which you have ſo honourably diſplayed, may deſcend to your children; and ſecure to them for ever, thoſe bleſſings which you have hitherto enjoyed, under the mild and happy government of the illuſtrious Houſe of Hanover.

☞ IT muſt not be omitted (though I mention it with great concern) that Major-General Walpole, being diſſatisfied with the reſolution of the Legiſlature to tranſport the Maroons from the country, declined the acceptance of the ſword voted by the Aſſembly.

APPENDIX

TO

CHAP. II. OF BOOK II.

CONTAINING

Obſervations on the Sugar Ants in the Iſland of Grenada; extracted from a Letter of John Caſtles, Eſq. to General Melville: read before the Royal Society in May 1790.

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THE Sugar Ants, ſo called from their ruinous effects on ſugar cane, are ſuppoſed to have firſt made their appearance in Grenada about the year 1770, on a ſugar plantation at Petit Havre; a bay five or ſix miles from the town of St. George, the capital, conveniently ſituated for ſmuggling from Martinico: it was therefore concluded, they were brought from thence in ſome veſſel employed in that trade, which is very probable, as colonies of them in like manner were afterwards propagated in different parts of the iſland by droghers, or veſſels employed in carrying ſtores, &c. from one part of the iſland to another.

FROM thence they continued to extend themſelves on all ſides for ſeveral years; deſtroying in ſucceſſion every ſugar plantation between St. George's and St. John's, a ſpace of about twelve miles. At the ſame time, colonies of them began to be obſerved in different parts of the iſland, particularly at Duqueſne on the north, and Calavini on the ſouth ſide of it.

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All attempts of the planters to put a ſtop to the ravages of theſe inſects having been found ineffectual, it well became the legiſlature to offer great publick rewards to any perſon who ſhould diſcover a practicable method of deſtroying them, ſo as to permit the cultivation of the ſugar cane as formerly. Accordingly, an act of aſſembly was paſſed, by which ſuch diſcoverer was entitled to twenty thouſand pounds, to be paid from the publick treaſury of the iſland.

Many were the candidates on this occaſion, but very far were any of them from having any juſt claim: nevertheleſs, conſiderable ſums of money were granted, in conſideration of trouble and expences in making experiments, &c.

In Grenada there had always been ſeveral ſpecies of ants, differing in ſize, colour, &c. which however were perfectly innocent with reſpect to the ſugar-cane. The ants in queſtion, on the contrary, were not only highly injurious to it, but to ſeveral ſorts of trees, ſuch as the lime, lemon, orange, &c.

These ants are of the middle ſize, of a ſlender make, of a dark red colour, and remarkable for the quickneſs of their motions; but their greateſt peculiarities are, their taſte when applied to the tongue, the immenſity of their number, and their choice of places for their neſts.

All the other ſpecies of ants in Grenada have a bitter muſky taſte. Theſe, on the contrary, are acid in the higheſt degree, and when a number of them were rubbed together between the palms of the hands, they emitted a ſtrong vitriolick ſulphureous ſmell; ſo much ſo, that, when this experiment was made, a gentleman conceived that it might be owing to this quality that theſe inſects were ſo unfriendly to vegetation. This

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This criterion to diſtinguiſh them was infallible, and known to every one.

Their numbers were incredible. I have ſeen the roads coloured by them for miles together; and ſo crowded were they in many places, that the print of the horſes feet would appear for a moment or two, until filled up by the ſurrounding multitude. This is no exaggeration. All the other ſpecies of ants, although numerous, were circumſcribed and confined to a ſmall ſpot, in proportion to the ſpace occupied by the cane ants, as a mole hill to a mountain.

The common black ants of that country had their neſts about the foundation of houſes or old walls; others in hollow trees; and a large ſpecies in the paſtures, deſcending by a ſmall aperture under ground. The ſugar ants, I believe, univerſally conſtructed their neſts among the roots of particular plants and trees, ſuch as the ſugar-cane, lime, lemon, and orange trees, &c.

The deſtruction of theſe ants was attempted chiefly two ways; by poiſon, and the application of fire.

For the firſt purpoſe, arſenick and corroſive ſublimate mixed with animal ſubſtances, ſuch as ſalt fiſh, herrings, crabs, and other ſhell fiſh, &c. were uſed, which was greedily devoured by them. Myriads of them were thus deſtroyed; and the more ſo, as it was obſerved by a magnifying glaſs, and indeed (though not ſo diſtinctly) by the naked eye, that corroſive ſublimate had the effect of rendering them ſo outrageous that they deſtroyed each other; and that effect was produced even by coming into contact with it. But it is clear, and it was found, that theſe poiſons could not be laid in ſufficient quantities over ſo large a tract of land as to give the hundred thouſandth part of them a taſte.

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The uſe of fire afforded a greater probability of ſucceſs; for (from whatever cauſe) it was obſerved; that if wood, burnt to the ſtate of charcoal, without flame, and immediately taken from the fire, was laid in their way, they crowded to it in ſuch amazing numbers as ſoon to extinguiſh it, although with the deſtruction of thouſands of them in effecting it. This part of their hiſtory appears ſcarcely credible; but, on making the experiment myſelf, I found it literally true. I laid fire, as above deſcribed, where there appeared but very few ants, and in the courſe of a few minutes thouſands were ſeen crowding to it and upon it, till it was perfectly covered by their dead bodies. Holes were therefore dug at proper diſtances in a cane piece, and fire made in each hole. Prodigious quantities periſhed in this way; for thoſe fires, when extinguiſhed, appeared in the ſhape of mole hills, from the numbers of their dead bodies heaped on them. Nevertheleſs the ants ſoon appeared again, as numerous as ever. This may be accounted for, not only from their amazing fecundity, but that probably none of the breeding ants or young brood ſuffered from the experiment.

For the ſame reaſon, the momentary general application of fire by burning the cane traſh (or ſtraw of the cane) as it lay on the ground, proved as little effectual; for although, perhaps, multitudes of ants might have been deſtroyed, yet in general they would eſcape by retiring to their neſts under cover, out of its reach, and the breeding ants, with their young progeny, muſt have remained unhurt.

This calamity, which reſiſted ſo long the efforts of the planters, was at length removed by another; which, however ruinous to the other iſlands in the Weſt Indies, and in other reſpects, was to Grenada a very great bleſſing; namely, the hurricane in 1780; without which it is probable, the cultivation of the ſugar-cane in the moſt valuable parts of that iſland muſt have in a great meaſure been thrown aſide, at leaſt for ſome years. How this hurricane produced this effect, has been conſidered rather as a matter of wonder and ſurprize than attempted to be explained. By attending to the following obſervations, the difficulty, I believe, will be removed.

THESE ants make their neſts or cells for the reception of their eggs, only under or among the roots of ſuch trees or plants as are not only capable of protecting them from heavy rains, but are at the ſame time ſo firm in the ground as to afford a ſecure baſis to ſupport them againſt any injury occaſioned by the agitation of the uſual winds. This double qualification the ſugar-cane poſſeſſes in a very great degree; for a ſtool of canes (which is the aſſemblage of its numerous roots where the ſtems begin to ſhoot out) is almoſt impenetrable to rain, and is alſo, from the amazing numbers and extenſion of the roots, firmly fixed to the ground. Thus, when every other part of the field is drenched with rain, the ground under thoſe ſtools will be found quite dry, as I and every other planter muſt have obſerved when digging out the ſtools in a cane piece, to prepare for replanting. And when canes are lodged or laid down by the uſual winds, or fall down by their own luxuriancy, the ſtools commonly remain in the ground; hence, in ordinary weather, the neſts of theſe ants are in a ſtate of perfect ſecurity.

THE lime, lemon, orange, and ſome other trees, afford theſe inſects the ſame advantages from the great number and quality of

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of their roots, which are firmly fixed to the earth, and are very large; beſides which, their tops are ſo very thick and umbrageous as to prevent even a very heavy rain from reaching the ground underneath.

On the contrary, theſe ants' neſts are never found at the roots of trees or plants incapable of affording the above protection; ſuch for inſtance as the coffee tree: it is indeed ſufficiently firm in the ground, but it has only one large tap root, which goes ſtraight downwards; and its lateral roots are ſo ſmall as to afford no ſhelter againſt rain. So again, the roots of the cotton ſhrub run too near the ſurface of the earth to prevent the acceſs of rain, and are neither ſufficiently permanent, nor firm enough to reſiſt the agitation by the uſual winds. The ſame obſervation will be found true with reſpect to cacao, plantains, maize, tobacco, indigo, and many other ſpecies of trees and plants.

Trees or plants of the firſt deſcription always ſuffer more or leſs in lands infeſted with theſe ants; whereas thoſe of the latter never do. Hence we may fairly conclude, that the miſchief done by theſe inſects is occaſioned only by their lodging and making their neſts about the roots of particular trees or plants. Thus the roots of the ſugar-canes are ſomehow or other ſo much injured by them, as to be incapable of performing their office of ſupplying due nouriſhment to the plants, which, therefore, become ſickly and ſtinted, and conſequently do not afford juices fit for making ſugar in either tolerable quantity or quality.

That theſe ants do not feed on any part of the canes or trees affected ſeems very clear, for no loſs of ſubſtance in either the one or the other has ever been obſerved; nor have they ever been ſeen carrying off vegetable ſubſtances of any ſort.

On the contrary, there is the greateſt preſumption that theſe ants are carnivorous, and feed entirely on animal ſubſtances; for if a dead inſect, or animal food of any ſort, was laid in their way, it was immediately carried off. It was found almoſt impoſſible to preſerve cold victuals from them. The largeſt carcaſſes, as ſoon as they began to become putrid, ſo as that they could ſeparate the parts, ſoon diſappeared. Negroes with ſores had difficulty to keep the ants from the edges of them. They deſtroyed all other vermin, rats in particular, of which they cleared every plantation they came upon, which they probably effected by attacking their young. It was found that poultry, or other ſmall ſtock, could be raiſed with the greateſt difficulty; and the eyes, noſe, and other emunctories of the bodies of dying or dead animals were inſtantly covered with theſe ants.

From what has been ſaid it appears, that a dry ſituation, ſo as to exclude the ordinary rains from their neſts or cells, appropriated for the reception of their eggs or young brood, is abſolutely neceſſary; but that theſe ſituations, however well calculated for the uſual weather, could not afford this protection from rain during the hurricane, may be eaſily conceived.

When by the violence of the tempeſt heavy pieces of artillery were removed from their places, and houſes and ſugar works levelled with the ground, there can be no doubt that trees, and every thing growing above ground, muſt have greatly ſuffered. This was the caſe. Great numbers of trees and plants (which commonly reſiſt the ordinary winds) were torn out by the root. The canes were univerſally either lodged or twiſted about as if by a whirlwind, or torn out of the ground altogether. In the latter caſe, the breeding ants, with their progeny, muſt have been expoſed to inevitable deſtruction from the deluge of rain which fell at the ſame time. The number of canes, however, thus torn out of the ground, could not have been adequate to the ſudden diminution of the ſugar ants; but it is eaſy to conceive that the roots of canes, which remained on the ground, and the earth about them, were ſo agitated and ſhaken, and at the ſame time the ants' neſts were ſo broken open or injured by the violence of the wind, as to admit the torrents of rain accompanying it. I apprehend, therefore, that the principal deſtruction of theſe ants muſt have been thus effected.

It muſt not however be denied, that though nature for a time may permit a particular ſpecies of animal to become ſo diſproportionably numerous as to endanger ſome other parts of her works, ſhe herſelf will in due time put a check upon the too great increaſe; and that is often done by an increaſe of ſome other animal inimical to the former deſtroyers. In the preſent caſe, however, nothing of that ſort appeared; therefore, when a plain natural cauſe, obvious to our ſenſes, occurred, by which we can account for the amazing and ſudden decreaſe of thoſe ruinous inſects, it is unneceſſary to recur to other poſſible cauſes too minute for our inveſtigation.

All I have ſaid on this ſubject would certainly be of little or no conſequence, did it not lead to the true method of cultivating the ſugar-cane on lands infeſted with thoſe deſtructive inſects; in which point of view, however, it becomes important.

If then the above doctrine be juſt, it follows that the whole of our attention muſt be turned to the deſtruction of the neſts of theſe ants, and conſequently the breeding ants with their eggs or young brood.

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In order to effect this, all trees and fences, under the roots of which theſe ants commonly take their reſidence, ſhould firſt be grubbed out; particularly lime or lemon fences, which are very common in Grenada, and which generally ſuffered from the ants before the canes appeared in the leaſt injured; after which the canes ſhould be ſtumped out with care, and the ſtools burnt as ſoon as poſſible, together with the field traſh (or the dried leaves and tops of the canes) in order to prevent the ants from making their eſcape to new quarters. The beſt way of doing this, I apprehend, will be to gather the field traſh together in conſiderable heaps, and to throw the ſtools as ſoon as dug out of the ground into them, and immediately apply fire. By this means multitudes muſt be deſtroyed; for the field traſh, when dry, burns with great rapidity. The land ſhould then be ploughed or hoe-ploughed twice (but at leaſt once) in the wetteſt ſeaſon of the year, in order to admit the rains, before it is hoed for planting the cane; by theſe means theſe inſects, I apprehend, will be ſo much reduced in number as at leaſt to ſecure a good plant cane.

But it is the cuſtom in moſt of the Weſt India iſlands to permit the canes to ratoon; that is, after the canes have once been cut down for the purpoſe of making ſugar, they are ſuffered to grow up again without replanting; and this generally for three or four years, but ſometimes for ten, fifteen, or twenty. In this mode of culture the ſtools become larger every year, ſo as to grow out of the ground to a conſiderable height, and by that means afford more and more ſhelter to the ants' neſts; therefore for two or three ſucceſſive crops the canes ſhould be replanted yearly, ſo as not only to afford as little

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cover as poſſible for the ants' neſts, but continually to diſturb ſuch ants as may have eſcaped, in the buſineſs of propagating their ſpecies.

THAT conſiderable expence and labour will attend putting this method into execution there is no doubt. An expenſive cure, however, is better than none; but from the general principles of agriculture, I am of opinion that the planter will be amply repaid for his trouble by the goodneſs of his crops, in conſequence of the ſuperior tilth the land will receive in the propoſed method.

APPENDIX

TO

BOOK V:

CONTAINING

Some Account of the Cultivation of the Clove Tree, *in the Iſland of Dominica, by William Urban Buée, Eſq. of that Iſland; from a Memoir preſented by him in* 1796 *to the Lords of the Committee of Council for the Affairs of Trade and Plantations.*

ABOUT the month of July 1789, a friend of mine in Cayenne ſent me, as a preſent, a clove tree about ſix inches high, having ſix or eight leaves, and accompanied with a printed paper reſpecting the cultivation of it. It was required by my friend's paper, that the tree ſhould be planted in a rich ſoil, and in a moiſt and cool ſituation, and in the ſhade of ſome trees round it. It was alſo obſerved, by my friend, that the tree would thrive beſt, if it were planted between four plantain trees. The continent of Cayenne being free from hurricanes, and the iſland of Dominica being, on the contrary, expoſed to them, I thought that the plantain trees were of too tender a nature to afford a ſufficient ſhade; becauſe with the leaſt guſt of wind they might fall on the clove tree and deſtroy

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it: in conſequence, I ſelected one of the richeſt ſpots on my eſtate, being a rich black ſoil, where I had ſixteen thouſand coffee trees growing moſt luxuriantly; between four of thoſe coffee trees I planted my clove tree with great care; I ſurrounded it with ſticks to prevent it from being trod upon; the coffee trees ſerved as a ſhade, and my intention was, when the clove tree ſhould extend itſelf, to lop or cut down the coffee tree neareſt to it. Every poſſible care was taken of this plant; it was kept clean, and every time I went on my eſtate I viſited it; knowing of what conſequence it would be to the publick in general, and to me in particular, if I could bring this experiment to ſucceed. It may be eaſily ſuppoſed with what anxiety I viewed the growth of the plant; but, alas! what was my grief, when I found the clove tree hardly vegetating, loſing its old leaves, as new ones ſprung at the top; and, in the long ſpace of near ſix months, not gaining an inch in height: diſappointed in my hopes, I informed my friend of the little ſucceſs I had had, and intreated his aſſiſtance in procuring other trees, if poſſible. In the month of December 1789, two more trees were ſent to me. From my firſt diſappointment, I wiſhed to plant theſe new trees nearer to my houſe, and in a place that would be convenient for watching and promoting their growth. My dwelling-houſe is ſituated on a hill, to the eaſtward, which hill is compoſed of a ſtiff, red-clay ſoil; at the foot of this hill, and on the eaſt ſide, is ſituated my garden; to obtain a flat of about one hundred and twenty feet ſquare, one part of that hill has been dug and levelled, which in ſome parts has made a bank of nearly eleven feet high; the ground was ſpread over, in order to fill up the inequalities of the ſurface; it will readily be obſerved how poor ſome part of that ſurface muſt be, particularly on that ſide, where eleven feet were cut from the hill. Here, I planted the above mentioned two trees, but, at the ſame time, took care to place them as far as I could from that ſide of the hill which had been pared down, as I had obſerved its ſoil was a ſtiff, red-clay; I therefore dug two holes, at about twelve feet from each other, of about eighteen inches diameter, and two feet deep; finding the ſubſtratum to be of a yellow, ſtrong, gravelly nature, I filled up theſe two holes with ſome good mould, and in each of them I planted a clove tree; they grew faſt and with luxuriance; which induced me to tranſplant the firſt clove tree I had received into the ſame garden, obſerving the ſame treatment; but whilſt that tree was growing to my ſatisfaction, an inſect deſtroyed the top of it, and occaſioned its death.

In the month of November 1791, being at Martinico, I viſited the different gardens in and about the town of Saint Pierre: as I was walking in the garden belonging to the Dominican friars, I remarked ſeveral young clove trees, each in a ſeparate baſket; they were the property of a gardener from Cayenne, and were to be diſpoſed of. I purchaſed the whole of them, conſiſting of fourteen trees: after collecting, from the generoſity of my friends, different other plants, I returned to Dominica, rich with my new acquiſition of clove trees, and determined to try different ſoils. Holes were dug in ſeveral parts of my garden, from twelve to fourteen feet diſtance, and of about the ſame dimenſions as thoſe mentioned before; on examining the ſoil, I found ſome of a ſtiff gravelly nature; in other parts, the ſubſtratum was of a yellow ſandy kind; in

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ſome holes, after taking out about ſix inches of the ſurface, I found a ſtiff red-clay; mixing ſome black mould with the different earths taken out of theſe holes, I filled them up, and planted in them ten out of the fourteen trees, reſerving four trees for that part of the garden nearer the foot of the hill, where ten or eleven feet had been cut from the ſurface; there I dug no more than was neceſſary to plant my trees: the ground was a cloſe, compact, ſtiff, red-clay. In order to make an experiment, I mixed no mould, dung, ſand, or other ſoil, with deſign to open the pores of the clay, but planted theſe laſt four trees in that clay, without the aſſiſtance of any thing whatever; abandoning their fate to nature, being reſolved to run the riſk of loſing them, for the purpoſe of aſcertaining, whether the clove tree required a rich ſoil or not. At the moment I now write, (October 1793,) twenty-three months have elapſed, ſince the planting of theſe laſt fourteen trees; and it is with ſatisfaction I can aſſert, that the four trees, which were planted in the clay, have grown, with at leaſt as much, if not more luxuriance, than the other ten: they are from five to ſix feet high, growing with vigour, fully furniſhed with branches at the bottom, and terminating in a point at the top, like a pyramid: out of thoſe fourteen trees, ſix of them were planted in a row, in the flatteſt part of the garden; the ground, with which the holes had been filled up having ſunk a little below the ſurface, a hollow round three of theſe trees was formed, and the water, not having a ſufficient current, collected round them: one tree died; the other two appearing to be in a declining ſtate, I raiſed them above ſix inches, that they might be rather above the ſurface of the ground. Although

though theſe trees were planted with the others in November 1791, one of the two declining trees is not above ſix inches high, and the other twelve inches, whilſt the other trees are three feet in height; this is a ſufficient proof, that the clove tree requires a dry ſituation, and dreads a ſpringy damp ſoil; though a certain degree of moiſture will promote its growth.

In the month of January 1793, with much trouble and expence (I ſay trouble, becauſe the exportation from the French iſlands is prohibited), I procured two boxes of *mother of cloves* *: the berries were packed, ſome in ſand, others in looſe earth: upon receiving them, I ordered beds to be prepared in my garden, and in different parts of my eſtate, for the conveniency of tranſplanting, and of ſaving diſtance, when the nurſeries ſhould be fit for that purpoſe. I planted theſe ſeeds at about ſix inches diſtance, covering them with about one inch of earth. I had been previouſly told, that the clove tree, when young, requires to be ſheltered from the ſun; but reflecting on the latitudes of Cayenne, and of the Moluccas, which are under the fourth and fifth degrees, the one north, the other ſouth, and the latitude of Dominica, which is between the fifteenth and ſixteenth degrees north, I knew that ten degrees would make a material difference in the climate, particularly on Montpellier eſtate, which is ſituated on an elevated ſituation, and about three miles diſtant from the ſea. I thought, that if I could rear thoſe ſeeds without the aſſiſtance of any ſhade, they would, from their infancy, be inured to the ſun and air, would be more hardy, and conſequently would bear tranſplanting with

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* Berries of the clove tree ripe and fit for vegetation.

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leſs riſk and danger; but in this I was deceived. The mother of clove, on its firſt viſible vegetation, appears like a ſmall, ſtraight, red dart; when it comes to two inches high, two ſmall red leaves are ſeen on its top; on the firſt appearance of theſe leaves, when hardly perceptible to the naked eye, I found, that on the ſun ſhining with any degree of heat, the plants drooped and periſhed; whereby many ſeeds were loſt: I therefore cauſed ſmall frames to be erected over all the beds, about three feet high from the ground, and I ſpread on them plantain leaves, in order to ſhade the young plants: I kept ſupplying thoſe leaves for near nine months; after which time I ſuffered the leaves to decay gradually, that the ſun might be admitted to the plants, as they acquired ſtrength; and in the ſpace of twelve months, they were fit to be tranſplanted. Out of ſix thouſand mother of cloves, I ſaved from fifteen to ſixteen hundred trees, which I began to tranſplant in January 1794, in the open field, at ſixteen feet diſtance. They are growing very luxuriantly: I have loſt but few, and none but ſuch as were in places, where the water collected. They are now fifteen months old, from the day they were tranſplanted, and moſt of them are between three and four feet high, apparently very healthy. The ground, wherein they are planted, had been under coffee for forty years; the coffee trees had decayed, which I tried in vain to replace, but they would not grow. Being diſappointed, I turned it into a paſture, which, from neglect, was covered with guava buſhes, a plant very prejudicial to any ſoil; I then reſolved to clear it, and plant my clove trees in it. This paſture ground, on the whole, is of a compact, ſtrong, gravelly ſoil; in ſome parts it is of a clayey nature; but the trees grow well in both.

As Abbé Raynal has been very exact in his deſcription of the clove, I ſhall adopt the ſame from his hiſtory. "*The flowers of the clove tree are diſpoſed in a corymbus terminalis; they have each of them a long quadrifid calix, which bears as many petals, and a great number of ſtamina; the piſtil, incloſed at the bottom of this calix, becomes along with it an oviform fruit, filled up with a ſingle kernel, and known by the name of mother of clove; this ſame calix, gathered before the unfolding of the petals and the fecundation of the piſtil, is the clove as ſold in the ſhops. The clove is fit to be gathered when it has acquired a reddiſh caſt, and a certain degree of firmneſs.*" The two clove trees, which I planted in December 1789, appeared with clove buds, on or about the 20th January 1795; ſome of the cloves were fit to be gathered in May and June following; and ſuch of the cloves as were left on the trees for the purpoſe of obtaining the mother of cloves, for ſeeds, acquired a proper degree of maturity, in July and Auguſt: ſo that allowing thoſe two trees to be about one year old, when they came to me, from the ſeeds which I planted, I judge they were of that age; I think the clove tree becomes productive, in the courſe of little more than ſix years, inſtead of nine years, as mentioned by Abbé Raynal.

I have this year (1795) but two clove trees that are bearing; in the year 1796, I ſhall have twenty-four more; and in the year 1799, I ſhall have from fifteen to ſixteen hundred trees, in a ſtate of production. Such of the trees, as are ſituated in flat grounds, I ſhall leave to their natural growth, by which more profit will be got, and ſhady walks obtained, an object of conſideration in a warm climate; and thoſe trees that are placed on a declivity, I ſhall top at eight or nine feet, for the conveni-

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ence of gathering. Having few cloves to gather this year (1795), they were picked with the hand. In the Moluccas, the planters either ſpread cloths on the ground, or ſweep the ground clean under and about the trees, and with the aſſiſtance of reeds they cauſe the cloves to fall down; after which they expoſe them, for a few days, to ſmoke upon hurdles, which are covered with large leaves; and this fumigation is followed by drying the cloves in the ſun.

In order to aſcertain the beſt mode of rendering the cloves merchantable, I tried ſeveral ways of deſiccating them when gathered. The firſt that I cured, in the ſhade, and in a warm room, were a fortnight before they appeared dry; and on breaking them with the nail, the ball, which is on the top of the clove, I found in the inſide to be mouldy; and on chewing the clove, they had a muſty taſte: I from theſe circumſtances found, that this mode of curing the cloves would not anſwer.

The ſecond gathering of cloves, I deſiccated entirely by the heat of the ſun. When dried, they appeared of a blacker hue than the Eaſt India cloves, but of a ſtronger and more pungent taſte.

The third trial, after gathering the cloves on a very rainy day, I put them in a ſtove which I had conſtructed for that purpoſe, and left for two nights and a day: the heat was rather ſtrong, and the rainy weather having prevented me from going to town, hindered me from getting a thermometer to aſcertain the degree of heat of the ſtove. At the end of the ſecond night, I took the cloves from the ſtove, and completed the deſiccation by the ſun; which operation, when perfected, gave the cloves a browniſh hue, a good pungent taſte, but not ſo ſtrong a flavour as thoſe that had been deſiccated by the ſun only.

The fourth deſiccation was nevertheleſs done in the ſame way; but, having got a thermometer, I obſerved this difference: After putting my green cloves in the ſtove, I took care that the heat was more moderate than that of the third trial; I left the cloves in the ſtove for only one night, and half a day, until they were faded, and had acquired a brown colour. I hung my thermometer in the ſtove, and found the heat to vary from 120 to 130 degrees: this done, I took out the thermometer, and let the heat decreaſe to the uſual degree of my eſtate, which was, on that day, ſeventy-ſix degrees; after this, from one o'clock to two, I expoſed the thermometer to the ſun; the day was fair; and the thermometer getting up to 128 degrees, this ſhewed the heat of the ſtove to be nearly equal to that of the ſun. After taking the cloves out of the ſtove, the reſt of the deſiccation was done by the ſun. I found theſe cloves, when perfectly dry, to be of a browniſh hue, not ſo ſtrong in taſte as thoſe deſiccated by the ſun only, but ſtronger than thoſe that had been, for two nights and a day, expoſed in the ſtove to a greater heat than theſe laſt. Having ſet aſide the firſt curing by the ſhade, I have numbered the cloves that underwent the three laſt deſiccations, No. 1, 2, and 3: the perſons, to whoſe judgment theſe ſpecimens will be ſubmitted, will decide on the beſt quality amongſt the three ſorts; all of which are far ſuperior in their ſtrength, and pungency, to thoſe that come from the Eaſt Indies, and appear to me to contain a great deal more eſſential oil: for, when expoſed to heat, on preſſing the nail on a clove, the eſſential oil is perceived to come out of it; which is not the caſe with the Eaſt India cloves, at leaſt ſuch as I have bought, in this iſland, for the purpoſe of comparing them with mine.

In curing the clove, I find it indiſpenſable to have a ſtove, for the following reaſons: After gathering cloves, I perceived that if they were not, within a ſhort time after ſuch gathering, faded, either by the heat of the ſun, or by that of a ſtove, that the greateſt part of the cloves, on being dried afterwards, acquired a light browniſh hue, loſt their firmneſs, ſtrength, or pungency, and many appeared as damaged cloves; and, as the weather is exceedingly variable in this part of the world, and the air, in general, damp, particularly in the country, it will be abſolutely neceſſary to have a ſtove heated to the degree before mentioned, and to leave the cloves in it till they are faded, I mean, until they have acquired a brown hue; after which, the reſt of the deſiccation may be done at eaſe, by the heat of the ſun, or by expoſure in a dry airy room.

The annual production of a clove tree in the Molucca Iſlands, according to Abbé Raynal's account, is about three pounds for each tree. There, they are topped, at from eight to nine feet, for the conveniency of gathering; but, in Cayenne, where they are left without topping, and where there are clove trees larger than our orange trees, it is reported, they produce from forty to fifty pounds each tree.

The two trees, which, under my management, have produced cloves this year, on the Montpellier eſtate, have netted me four pounds and a half of cured cloves, beſides two pounds, at leaſt, of cloves, which I have left on the trees, to obtain mother of cloves, for the multiplication of that ſpice; and beſides this, I have about half a pound of cloves, which having fallen on the ground before their degree of maturity, have been dried, and are very good for domeſtic uſe: theſe laſt are ſtrong, but

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but ſmall; ſo that theſe two trees have produced more than ſeven pounds of cloves. As this is the firſt time of their production, and they are young, it may be reaſonably expected, that when older, they will acquire more ſtrength, and more branches; and conſequently, will be a great deal more productive.

To the preceding Extract it is thought neceſſary to add the following Letter to the Earl of Liverpool.

Soho Square, Auguſt 11, 1796.

MY LORD,

I BEG leave to acquaint your Lordſhip, that I have read with attention the paper on the ſucceſsful culture of the clove tree in Dominica, which your Lordſhip did me the honour of referring to me, and am of opinion, that it ought to be printed for the information of His Majeſty's ſubjects in the Weſt Indies, and other intertropical colonies.

MR. BUEE is, as far as I know, the firſt perſon who has obſerved, that the pimento tree proſpers beſt in thoſe ſteril ſoils where trees whoſe wood is of a hard texture abound, and that ſugar cannot be cultivated to advantage in ſuch places; alſo, on the other hand, that where trees whoſe wood is ſoft, are naturally found, pimento trees rarely are met with, and ſugar plantations will ſucceed; on ſuch ſteril ſoils he has tried clove trees, and found them congenial to its nature.

THESE obſervations open to the cultivators of hot climates a new ſource of wealth, which will not probably be confined to the growth of cloves; other ſpices may alſo proſper beſt in the barren ſoils of the Weſt Indies, as lavender, thyme, and other aromatic plants, are known to do in thoſe of Europe.

I HAVE the honour of ſending to your Lordſhip, with this, a paper containing ſamples of cloves received by me from Mr. Buée ſome months ago: Numbers 1 and 2, mentioned by him p. 19, (379.) are mixed; No. 3, his beſt ſort, are ſeparate. Your Lordſhip may, if you think fit, order a compariſon to be made, by ſome dealers in ſpice, between theſe and the cloves we uſually receive from the Dutch: I ſhall only add, that when I applied for information on the ſame ſubject to an eminent wholeſale dealer in that article, the only anſwer I obtained, was, that he thought me grievouſly deceived, in ſuppoſing the cloves to be the produce of the Weſt Indies, he being abſolutely certain they came from the Eaſt.

I have the honour to be,
With infinite regard and eſteem,
Your Lordſhip's obedient humble ſervant,

JOS. BANKS.

EARL OF LIVERPOOL.

POSTSCRIPT
TO THE
HISTORICAL SURVEY
OF
ST. DOMINGO:

Containing a brief Review of the Tranſaction and Condition of the Britiſh Army there, during the Years 1795, 6, 7, *and* 8, *until the final Evacuation of the Country.*

FOUR years have elapſed ſince I cloſed the details of the military operations of the Britiſh army in St. Domingo, and I grieve to ſay, that what was then prophetic apprehenſion, is now become hiſtorical fact. This once opulent and beautiful colony, the boaſt of France, and the glory of the new hemiſphere, is expunged from the chart of the civilized world! The proſpect of ſuch lamentable ruin might give occaſion for many obſervations and reflections; and I ſhall preſent to my readers, in the following very imperfect ſketch (for ſuch it is in every ſenſe) a few that occur to me: more than this I dare not attempt. Were it in my power (as in truth it is not) to continue, in a regular ſeries, the hiſtory of thoſe ſad events which have led to this miſerable cataſtrophe, I ſhould indeed decline a taſk which would be equally diſguſting to my readers, and painful to myſelf. In a climate where every gale was fraught with poiſon, and in a conteſt with uncounted hoſts of barbarians, what could the beſt efforts of our gallant countrymen effect? Their enemies indeed fled before them, but the arrows of peſtilence purſued and arreſted the victors, in their career of conqueſt! Scenes like theſe, while they afford but ſmall cauſe of gratulation to the actors themſelves, furniſh no topicks to animate the page of the hiſtorian; who would have little elſe to diſplay but a repetition of the ſame diſaſters—deluſive promiſes, unrealized hopes, unavailing exertions; producing a complication of miſeries, diſeaſe, diſtraction, contagion, and death!

At the ſame time (although I know not that the reader will derive any great degree of conſolation from the circumſtance) it is incumbent on me to obſerve, that, during the diſaſtrous period of which I treat, I have not heard that any miſconduct or neglect was ever fairly imputed to thoſe perſons who had the direction of the enterprize, either in the public departments of Great Britain, or in the ſcene of action itſelf. The names of Williamſon, Forbes, Simcoe, Whyte, and Maitland, carry with them a demonſtration that neither courage, nor energy, nor military talents, was at any time wanting in the principal department. Reinforcements of troops too, were ſent by the Britiſh government, with a more liberal hand than in former years. Towards the latter end of April 1795, the 81ſt and 96th regiments (conſiſting together of 1,700 men) arrived from Ireland; the 82d, from Gibraltar, landed 980 men in Auguſt; and in April 1796, the 66th and 69th regiments, conſiſting of 1,000 men each, with 150 artillery, arrived from the ſame place, under the command of General Bowyer: ſo that the whole number of effective men which had landed in St. Domingo, down to this period (including ſome ſmall detachments ſent up at different times from Jamaica) amounted to 9,800. In June following, four regiments of infantry, and a part of two others*, arrived from Cork, under the command of General Whyte. Theſe were ſoon afterwards followed by ſeven regiments of Britiſh†, together with three regiments of foreign cavalry‡; beſides two companies of Britiſh, and a detachment of Dutch artillery; making in the whole a further reinforcement of about 7,900§.

But what avail the beſt concerted ſchemes of human policy againſt the diſpenſations of Divine Providence? A great part of theſe gallant troops, moſt of them in the bloom of youth, were conveyed, with little intermiſſion, from the ſhips to the hoſpital—from the hoſpital to the grave! Of the 82d regiment, no leſs than 630 became victims to the climate, within the ſhort ſpace of ten weeks after their landing. In one of its companies, no more than three rank and file were fit for duty. Hompeſch's regiment of huſſars were reduced, in little more than two months, from 1,000 to 300, *and the 96th regiment periſhed to a man!* By the 30th of September, 1796, the regiſters of mortality diſplayed a mournful diminution of no leſs than 7,530 of the Britiſh forces only; and towards the latter end of 1797, out of the whole number of troops, Britiſh and foreign, which had landed and were detained in this devoted country, during that and the two preceding years, (certainly not far ſhort of 15,000 men) I am aſſured that not more than 3,000 were left alive and in a condition for ſervice*.

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* The 17th, 32d, 56th, and 67th, with part of the 93d and 99th.

† The 13th, 14th, 17th, 18th, 21ſt, 26th, and 29th.

‡ The York, Hompeſch, and Rouen Huſſars.

§ Out of this number are however to be deducted the 32d infantry and the 26th dragoons; the former of which were ſent from St. Domingo to Bahama, and the latter to the Windward Iſlands.

DURING this dreadful ſacrifice of human life, the neceſſary operations in the colony were productive of ſuch an expenditure of treaſure to the Britiſh government, as excited the utmoſt aſtoniſhment in the minds of the king's miniſters; who ought however to have foreſeen, that the coſt of raiſing, feeding, arming, clothing, and paying colonial regiments, both black and white, in a country where every article was three times as dear as in Europe, and the expence of fitting out armed veſſels to tranſport troops and ſtores from one part of the colony to another part, (both of them meaſures of abſolute neceſſity) muſt unavoidably be very great†. The charges attending the hoſpital ſervice, were alone found to amount to 10*s.* a day for each invalid. For the payment of theſe, and other ſervices, the Governor was authorized to draw bills of exchange on the Britiſh treaſury; and the bills thus drawn, to the firſt of May, amounted to £.4,383,596. 8*s.* 2*d.* ſterling.

BUT, notwithſtanding this enormous expence, both of blood and treaſure, the proſpect of ſubduing the whole of this great iſland, and annexing it, in a profitable condition, to the Britiſh dominion, was more diſtant than ever. The weakneſs and diminution of our troops, inſpired the enemy with renewed confidence. They were not unobſervant of our ſituation, and took advantage of it. Thoſe among the white inhabitants who were ſecretly diſaffected, became encouraged and confirmed in their hoſtile purpoſes, and were eaſily prevailed upon to declare openly againſt a cauſe, which they plainly foreſaw muſt, in a ſhort time, work its own deſtruction.

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* The loſs of ſeamen in the ſhips employed on the coaſt are not included. It may be ſtated very moderately at 5,000 men.

† The colonial troops, black and white, embodied by General Williamſon, amounted, at the end of 1795, to 8,170.

It is not however to be underſtood, that the Britiſh army was ſuffered to remain, during this time, in deſponding inactivity. The caſe was far otherwiſe. Every man who was in a condition for ſervice, had full employment aſſigned to him, and undoubtedly very vigorous efforts were made to diſtreſs the enemy, and extend our footing in the country, until, unhappily, every ſucceeding exertion, like the labours of Syſiphus, terminated in new diſappointment.

At one period, very ſanguine expectations prevailed from the co-operation and ſervices of the colonial corps, which General Williamſon had cauſed to be organized. Their knowledge of the country, and their habitude to the climate, were ſuppoſed to render them a uſeful and formidable body. They had been formed, in a great degree, under the Baron de Montalembert, (an officer of whoſe military merit it is not eaſy to ſpeak in terms too favourable); and, immediately after the arrival of the 82d regiment from Gibraltar, ſuch of them as were brought to a ſufficient ſtate of diſcipline, commenced operations, under that officer's command, in the weſtern province: being reinforced by the Baron's own regiment, and a detachment from the Britiſh 82d, they proceeded for a time very ſucceſsfully, driving the enemy out of many fortified poſts, and taking poſſeſſion of a great extent of country, even as far as the Spaniſh frontiers. Nothing could exceed the noble ſpirit of emulation which animated their conduct. Unhappily, the want of a ſufficient number of men to garriſon the poſts which the enemy had abandoned, rendered all their ſucceſſes ultimately abortive. Their progreſs therefore was productive of no laſting impreſſion: it was like that of a veſſel traverſing the ocean;—the waves yielded indeed for the moment, but united again as the veſſel paſſed.

In the meanwhile, a very conſiderable body of the revolted negroes (the whole of whom had now ſeparated themſelves altogether from the people of colour) continued to maintain their poſition in a ſtrong poſt, on the heights which overlook Port au Prince towards the ſouth. This party of brigands were commanded by a negro named Dudonait, who had contrived to cut off the ſtreams by which the town was uſually ſupplied with freſh water. The diſtreſs to which the garriſon was reduced by this meaſure, and the diſgrace of ſuffering the inſults of ſuch an enemy to remain unpuniſhed, induced the General, in the month of December, to make formidable preparations for attacking Dudonait in his camp; when an extraordinary circumſtance occurred, which, as it diſplays the ſtate of parties among the revolters, deſerves recital. On the firſt of January 1796, this negro chief ſent a flag to the General, ſignifying that it was his intention to preſent the Britiſh with a ſupply of water, by way of a new year's gift; and accordingly the ſprings were cleared, and the ſtreams ſuffered to run in their uſual channel, to the great relief of the town and the garriſon. This meaſure, on the part of the enemy, was followed by overtures for a negociation; and Dudonait ſoon afterwards tranſmitted the heads of a treaty in writing, offering therein to bring the chief part of his army over to the Engliſh, on certain conditions; one of which was, that the Engliſh troops ſhould co-operate with their new negro allies, *utterly to cut off and extirpate the people of colour throughout St. Domingo.*

As it was impoſſible that General Williamſon could liſten to propoſitions of this nature, although he had no reaſon to doubt the ſincerity of Dudonait, the preparations for driving the enemy from his poſition were continued. Light artillery was provided to be carried up the mountains on mules. The enterprize, however, was attended with ſo many difficulties, that it was not until the 28th of February the attack was made; when the Britiſh had the ſatisfaction, in the courſe of a few hours, to ſee the brigands, who had ſo long hemmed in and inſulted them, fly from their chain of formidable poſts in all directions. General Bowyer was at the head of the column, at the place where the chief attack was made, and he carried the lines by ſtorm *.

HAD I the means of reſounding in detail the many other enterprizes, in the proſecution of which the honour of the Britiſh flag was ably maintained and ſupported, notwithſtanding the cruel ravages which the diſeaſes of the climate hourly made among the troops, the recital of them ſhould not be omitted.— I ſhould dwell with infinite ſatisfaction on the merits of the Generals Churchill, Bowyer, Montalembert; the Colonels Spencer, Stuart, Deſſource, and other officers in high command,

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* The negro commander, Dudonait, was ſoon afterwards ſurprized by the Mulatto General Rigaud, who had heard of his negociation with the Engliſh, and ordered him to immediate execution.

mand. It is univerſally acknowledged, that the ſervices of all theſe gentlemen that I have mentioned, were eminently conſpicuous; and I regret that my information is not ſufficiently minute and particular, to enable me to beſtow that diſtinct and appropriate tribute of applauſe on the conduct of each, which juſtice and gratitude would otherwiſe demand. This general acknowledgment therefore is all that I can offer; but my regret is heightened by the mournfully reflecting, that ſuch exertions and talents were employed in ſo unprofitable a ſervice; a warfare in which all human efforts were unavailing, and ſucceſs itſelf unattended with laſting advantage or renown.

In the month of March 1796, Sir Adam Williamſon embarked for Great Britain, having reſigned the command of the troops to General Forbes, who was himſelf ſuperſeded by the arrival of General Simcoe, as chief governor, in March 1797. One great object the king's miniſters had in view, by the appointment laſt mentioned, was, as I have heard, to obtain a full and accurate repreſentation of the ſtate of the colony, the actual ſituation of the Britiſh army there, and the proſpects which remained of the ultimate ſucceſs to the enterprize. No man was better qualified to form a correct, comprehenſive, and unbiaſſed opinion on thoſe points, than General Simcoe. He was inſtructed, withal, to carry into effect a plan of reform and retrenchment in the diſpoſal and application of the public money. Abuſes under this head were loudly, and I believe very juſtly, complained of; the correction of which, it was ſaid, could be effected only by a proper exertion of firmneſs, energy, and deciſion in the commander in chief; qualities which eminently diſtinguiſh that officer's character. It is unpleaſant to relate,

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but it is too notorious to be denied, that among the French coloniſts, our allies, many of the principal men, in return for the tender of their ſervices, had ſtipulated for and obtained very extraordinary ſalaries and appointments. Some of theſe gentlemen, without doubt, had acquired a juſt claim to liberal remuneration; but there were others among them, who ſet, I am afraid, a very exaggerated value on their own merits. In the preſent forlorn and ſad condition of the army, however, the meaſure of retrenching expences and allowances, of what nature ſoever, proved a painful and perilous undertaking. The whole body of our allies were alarmed and diſcontented in conſequence of it. Their efforts became every where palſied; and it is alledged, that ſome important poſts were ſurrendered to the enemy, without an effort being made to ſave them. It is certain, that officers of high rank reſigned their commiſſions, and quitted the country. Thus, whilſt diſeaſe was rapidly thinning the ranks, diſguſt and diſaffection ſpread with equal rapidity among the ſurvivors. The proſpect, on every ſide, was gloomy; and the mournful exclamation, *tout eſt perdû*, reſounded equally from diſappointed ſelfiſhneſs, and deſponding loyalty.

General Simcoe, by the moderation and firmneſs of his conduct, ſucceeded in reſtoring order and ſubordination, and, in ſome degree, reviving confidence; but the ſtate of affairs was irretrievably deſperate, and the General, probably, thought that the greateſt ſervice he could render his country, was to return to Great Britain, fully and faithfully to repreſent in perſon, to the king's miniſters, the reſult of his experience and obſervations. For this purpoſe (as it is ſuppoſed) he embarked for Europe in July.

WHAT report the General made, on his arrival in London, to the Britiſh adminiſtration, is not known to me but by conjecture. It is certain, that government ſoon afterwards came to the determination of reducing the number of Britiſh poſts in St. Domingo (by ordering the moſt diſtant and leſs important ones to be abandoned) and of concentrating and directing all our force to the maintenance of certain places only, the permanent poſſeſſion of which might afford ſecurity to our navigation and commerce, and deter the enemy from attempting predatory excurſions againſt the Britiſh ſettlements in the neighbourhood.

THIS determination appears to me to have been ſuggeſted by wiſdom, or rather it was founded on neceſſity; and in order to carry it into full effect, ſuitable inſtructions were prepared for General Neſbit, who was appointed ſucceſſor to General Simcoe in December 1797.

THE command of the troops, in the meanwhile, had devolved on General Whyte, an officer of great experience, local knowledge, and approved bravery;—but neither experience nor courage in the commander, could enable the army to do more than to maintain itſelf within the garriſon. The war was no longer a war of conqueſt, but of ſelf-preſervation. The rebel negroes were at the gates, and no alternative remained but to ſtand on the defenſive, until General Neſbit's arrival.

RESPECTING the forces of the enemy, and the interior ſtate of the colony at the period of General Simcoe's departure, it was known that the men in arms were become divided into two principal factions, under different leaders. The republican troops which had been ſent at different times from France, having been reduced by ſickneſs and famine to about 700, had made a ſort of junction with the revolted negroes of the northern province; reſerving to themſelves only the privilege of forming a diſtinct regiment, and of being commanded by white officers; but the General or Commander in Chief of the whole of this northern army, white and black, was a negro named Touſſaint L'Ouverture. This man, at the commencement of the revolt in 1791, was a ſlave to Monſieur Noé, a conſiderable planter in the neighbourhood of Cape François, now reſiding in London. Having taken an active part in the rebellion, Touſſaint had acquired, in a ſhort time, great weight among the negroes, and at length obtained ſuch an aſcendancy among his adherents, as inveſted him with abſolute and undiſputed authority over them. His attachment however to the French government was thought extremely doubtful; and, in truth, he ſeemed to have no other immediate object in view, than that of conſolidating his own power, and ſecuring the freedom of his fellow negroes. His black army in 1797 was eſtimated at 18,000 infantry, and a troop of horſe of about 1,000.

The other principal body was compoſed chiefly of Mulattoes, collected from different parts of the colony, and negro ſlaves whom they had compelled to join them. The Mulattoes, ſpurning the idea of ſerving under a Negro General, had reſorted to the ſouthern province, and enrolled themſelves, with their brethren of colour in that part of the country, under Andrew Rigaud, a General of their own caſt, of whom mention has already been made. His army (comprehending alſo ſuch of the lower claſs of white inhabitants of the ſouthern and weſtern provinces, as found it neceſſary, either for their daily ſupport, or perſonal protection, to enliſt under his banner) was ſaid to amount to about 12,000; and they declared themſelves in the intereſt of the republican government, eſtabliſhed under the French Directory.

Between theſe two bodies however, as the reader muſt have perceived, there exiſted the moſt inveterate and rancorous animoſity, which had already manifeſted itſelf in many conflicts; and nothing but the preſence of an invading enemy in the country, reſtrained it, in any degree, from proceeding to that extremity of civil conteſt—a war of utter extermination—in which mercy is neither to be given nor accepted. On the departure of the Engliſh, Touſſaint made a publick declaration, ſignifying that it was his intention not to leave a Mulatto man alive in the country; and, with reſpect to ſuch of theſe unhappy people as have ſince fallen into his hands, I am aſſured that he has kept his word; not an individual of them has been ſpared.

But, although theſe great factions were the two moſt conſiderable, they were not the only bodies of armed men that aſſociated in this unfortunate country, and acted without any co-operation with each other. Separate hordes, compoſed of revolted ſlaves, and ruffians of every deſcription, appeared in different parts (chiefly in the northern and weſtern provinces) ſupporting themſelves by depredation and plunder. Againſt the cruelties and enormities committed by theſe parties, the few remaining whites had no means of ſafety, but by purchaſing the protection of Touſſaint: and thus an extraordinary revolution had taken place;—the very chief, whoſe original intent was the total extirpation of the whites, had checked his career of maſſacre, and was now become their defender and protector. In the ſouthern province were parties of brigands of a ſimilar deſcription, ſome of which made piratical excurſions at ſea in canoes, and captured many ſmall veſſels, both American and Engliſh, which were found near the coaſt. On theſe occaſions, the ſavages put all the white ſeamen to inſtant death; but where any women were unhappily found on board, theſe they carried away with them in a ſtate of captivity, for purpoſes which, perhaps, made them envy the more immediate fate of the murdered ſeamen. It muſt not be omitted, however, that Rigaud publiſhed an indignant proclamation againſt theſe pirates, and hanged up all ſuch of them as were apprehended under it.

SUCH was the ſtate of affairs in St. Domingo, during the latter part of 1795, and the whole of the years 1796 and 1797, until the mortality among the Britiſh forces was ſo great, as in truth to leave no alternative to the ſad ſurvivors, but to retire from a conteſt, in which victory itſelf was diſappointment and defeat!

ON the 22d of April 1798, therefore, Brigadier Maitland (who, in conſequence of General Whyte's return to Europe, and the death of General Neſbit, in his voyage outwards, had ſucceeded to the chief command) came to the reſolution of evacuating the towns of Port au Prince and St. Marc, with their reſpective dependencies, together with the pariſh of Arcahaye; a meaſure which, by a judicious negociation with

Touſſaint,

Touſſaint, he happily effected without loſs, and withdrew with the troops to Mole St. Nicholas.

The whole number of white troops, Engliſh and foreign, at this period in the Britiſh ſervice, under General Maitland's command, did not exceed 2,500, including even the ſick and convaleſcent. Of the Britiſh, not more than 1,100 were left alive. Part of theſe held poſſeſſion of Grand Ance, under Brigadier General Spencer, the remainder embarked with General Maitland for the Mole.

The great importance of the poſt at Mole St. Nicholas, to which our troops now retreated, has been pointed out on a former occaſion*; but it was alſo remarked, that the fortifications there, however defenſible they might prove in the caſe of a maritime attack (for which alone they were conſtructed) could not eaſily be maintained againſt an attempt on the ſide of the land, being completely commanded by the hills adjacent. This circumſtance could not poſſibly have eſcaped General Maitland's notice; for the ſame obſervation occurred to myſelf, and muſt have occurred to every other man who has viſited the place. Very ſerious apprehenſions muſt, therefore, have been felt, that the Britiſh forces would, at no diſtant period, be compelled to abandon this poſt, as they had abandoned the others.

It is probable that conſiderations of this nature induced General Maitland to form the deſign of repoſſeſſing the no leſs important poſt of Cape Tiburon; which, as the reader has already been told, was taken from the Britiſh, by a force under Rigaud, on the 25th of December 1794. It was thought that, with the neighbouring port of Jeremie, and the bay of Irois, already in our poſſeſſion, the capture of Tiburon would not only command the diſtrict of Grand Ance, and ſecure the navigation of the windward paſſage, equally with the Mole St. Nicholas, but afford alſo, in a very conſiderable degree, protection to Jamaica, in caſe the enemy ſhould meditate attempts on the coaſts of that iſland; at the ſame time, it was not intended, I preſume, to evacuate the Mole, but under circumſtances of imperious neceſſity.

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* Hiſtorical Survey of St. Domingo, p. 160.

In the beginning of June 1798, ſuch of the troops as could be ſpared for the intended expedition againſt Tiburon, aſſembled in the Bay of Irois. The firſt brigade was commanded by Colonels Spencer and Grant, and the ſecond by Colonel Stewart; a third brigade, under the command of Colonel Deſſource, conſiſting of colonial troops, moved forwards by land on the 11th. The other brigades embarked, at the ſame time, in the ſquadron appointed to co-operate with them, conſiſting of the York, Adventure, Tourterelle, Rafter, and Drake, under the command of Captain Ferrier.

So far the whole buſineſs ſeems to have been judiciouſly conducted, and to have promiſed a ſucceſsful termination; but the iſſues of war are in the hands of the Almighty. Owing to the prevalence of ſtrong ſouth-eaſterly winds, it was found impoſſible, after many unavailing attempts for that purpoſe, to effect a landing of the troops; and the General, not from the reſiſtance of the enemy, but from the rage of the elements, was ultimately obliged to relinquiſh the attack, and return with the troops to Mole St. Nicholas.

The failure of this attempt on Tiburon, was ſoon afterwards followed by a deſign of the enemy on the Mole itſelf. Towards the ſummit of one of the hills commanding the Fort, the Britiſh had eſtabliſhed a poſt of 60 men, chiefly colonial troops. On the 21ſt of July this poſt was attacked by a horde of brigands, and (to the great aſtoniſhment of the garriſon below) was carried without much reſiſtance; the major part of the detachment ſtationed there, having deſerted to the enemy. The few Britiſh among them, however, by keeping up a well-directed retreating fire, reached the garriſon in ſafety.

But the triumph of the brigands on this occaſion was of ſhort duration; for the mortars of the garriſon having been brought to play againſt the ſpot, the enemy was ſoon driven from the poſt, and a detachment of Britiſh, under Colonel Stewart, again took poſſeſſion of it.

A more daring attempt however was made, about the ſame time, at another poſt called the Gorge, where the brigands appeared in great force; and although, by the gallantry and good conduct of the troops ſent againſt them, they were finally repulſed, their defeat was not affected without an obſtinate reſiſtance on their part, and conſiderable loſs on ours.

It was now evident to every man, that, unleſs poſſeſſion could be obtained of the ſurrounding hills, and a chain of ſtrong poſts, with lines of great extent, eſtabliſhed on their ſummits, it was not within the reach of human ſkill, or human courage, to preſerve the garriſon itſelf from deſtruction, in the event of a ſtill more formidable attack from the enemy, of which the garriſon was in hourly expectation.

For the erection of ſuch works and defences, General Maitland, whatever might have been his wiſhes, certainly did not poſſeſs the neceſſary means; neither had he troops enough to man them, even if the means had been within his reach.

It is plain, therefore, that no ſort of alternative remained to General Maitland on this occaſion, but to conſider of a ſpeedy and ſecure retreat for the wreck of his worn-out veterans; and to abandon for ever a country, which, after five bloody years of hopeleſs warfare within its borders, has furniſhed its invaders with juſt ſpace enough, and no more, for the graves of about 20,000 brave ſoldiers and ſeamen, ſacrificed to the vain project of ſeizing on a territory, which, after obtaining it, we muſt have newly peopled, to render it productive!

Such a retreat General Maitland, in the month of October 1798, happily effected*. Of the means by which it was accompliſhed, and the arrangements which it is believed were made, about the ſame time, with the negro chief Touſſaint, for the future ſafety of the Britiſh trade, and the ſecurity of the Britiſh poſſeſſions in this part of the world, I can give no certain information to my readers. On thoſe points, the king's miniſters have hitherto withheld all manner of communication. Enough is known, however, (and more than enough) to demonſtrate to every unprejudiced mind, that the final evacuation of moſt parts of St. Domingo, was not a matter of mere prudence and diſcretion, but of abſolute and uncontroulable neceſſity. To have attempted the further proſecution of offenſive war in this devoted country, (after ſuch experience as five years had already furniſhed) would have argued, not merely an unwarrantable exceſs of miſtaken zeal in the minds of its conductors; but the pitiable and impotent rage of incurable inſanity!

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* The troops at the Mole, and thoſe at the Grand Ance under Colonel Spencer, were removed to Jamaica. They did not amount altogether to one thouſand. The negro regiments embodied by General Williamſon were diſbanded, and the men left to diſpoſe of themſelves as they thought proper. This meaſure was, I believe, unavoidable; nevertheleſs, it was a mortifying circumſtance to behold this fine body of men turned adrift, and compelled by neceſſity to join the enemy. They were purchaſed originally at a prodigious expence; had been trained up to arms with ſurpriſing ſucceſs; were proud of their character as ſoldiers; and without doubt, when kept in conſtant employment, were troops the beſt ſuited of any in the world for the country and climate. Whether any great dependance might be placed on the proper ſubordination and loyalty of ſuch a body of men in time of peace, or on their fidelity in time of war, with people of their own caſt, (and in caſes where no white troops could be brought to co-operate with them) I will not venture to decide.

And thus terminated this moſt diſaſtrous enterprize againſt St. Domingo. Nevertheleſs, dreadful as the conſequences of it have proved, I am perſuaded that no human being was ever actuated on any occaſion by motives more pure and patriotic, than was General Williamſon on this. Certainly it was on his recommendation and advice that the project was originally adopted by government; and if, in this caſe, he erred in his judgment, concerning perſons and circumſtances, even his errors proceeded from his virtues. Unſuſpicious in his nature, and incapable of deception himſelf, he miſtruſted not the fraudulent views and arrogant pretenſions of others. Here indeed he failed. It was his misfortune to place too great reliance on the venal and unfounded aſſurances of a few adventurers from St. Domingo; men, who had neither property nor conſideration in that iſland, nor any ſort of authority from the reſident planters, to invite a Britiſh invaſion. It was this ill-placed confidence that induced General Williamſon to recommend the meaſure to the king's miniſters; and afterwards, on receiving their ſanction, to undertake the conduct of it himſelf, with means ſo infinitely diſproportioned to the end, that diſappointment and diſcomfiture were its neceſſary and natural conſequences. Let me add, at the ſame time, that inſtead of ſecuring any pecuniary advantage to himſelf, General Williamſon injured his private fortune, in the proſecution of this very ſervice. His health was the ſacrifice, and poverty his reward!

THE hiſtory of this unfortunate experiment will hereafter, it is hoped, furniſh a profitable leſſon to men in power. They may learn from it the extreme danger of giving a willing ear, in time of war, to the repreſentations of deſigning foreigners, concerning the diſpoſition and principles of the great body of their countrymen, and the ſtate of the country from which (whether unjuſtly or not is nothing to the purpoſe) they have probably been driven. To expect a fair and impartial report from ſuch men, in ſuch a caſe, were to ſuppoſe that the human mind has changed its character. This unhappy credulity has been a diſtinguiſhed feature in the conduct of the preſent war, and the caſe of St. Domingo affords a melancholy proof of its effects.

THE account which I have given, will likewiſe furniſh additional confirmation to the caſes already recorded in hiſtory, demonſtrating the fatal folly of proſecuting aggreſſive war, for the acquiſition of territory, in the climate of the Weſt Indies. The dreadful expence of human life in ſuch enterpriſes, is beyond all the compenſation that the moſt ſplendid victory can afford: The hand of Omnipotence is uplifted againſt the meaſure, and no one nation on earth has ever made the attempt, without having had occaſion afterwards to lament its commencement, and to deplore its conſequences*.

SUCH are the reflections and obſervations which have occurred to me on this painful topick. With a few remarks of a leſs general, but, perhaps, of no leſs intereſting a nature, I ſhall quit the ſubject.

So long as the two great parties which now exiſt in St. Domingo, ſhall continue the proſecution of civil warfare againſt each other, there is not, I ſuppoſe, much danger to be apprehended,

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* "IN theſe adventures, obſerves Mr. Burke, it is not an enemy we have to vanquiſh, but a cemetery to acquire. In carrying on war in the Weſt Indies, the hoſtile ſword is merciful: the country itſelf is the dreadful enemy:—there the European conqueror finds a cruel defeat in the very fruits of his ſucceſs. Every advantage is but a new demand for recruits to the Weſt Indian grave." Let us hear alſo on this ſubject the Poet of the Seaſons:—

"*Then waſteful forth*
Walks the dire power of peſtilent diſeaſe;
Sick nature blaſting; and to heartleſs woe
And feeble deſolation, caſting down
The towering hopes, and all the pride of man!
Such as of late at Carthagena quench'd
The Britiſh fire.—
——————— *Gallant Vernon ſaw*
The miſerable ſcenes,
Heard nightly plung'd amid the ſullen waves
The frequent corſe!" THOMSON.

This miſerable ſcene, however, has been frequently repeated ſince the ſiege of Carthagena. It was exhibited at the Havannah in 1762; at the river St. Juan, and lately in the Windward Iſlands; but no where, I believe, with greater force and effect than in St. Domingo.

prehended, that either of them will have leiſure to make many depredations on the Britiſh ſhipping trading in that part of the world, or any very ſerious attempts on the coaſts of the neighbouring iſlands. This ſtate of things cannot, however, be of extenſive duration. The war is of too violent a nature to laſt many years; and it is probable the firſt general conflict will decide the fate of one of the two contending factions.

By the laſt accounts, Touſſaint appears to have at preſent the ſuperiority. His army is undoubtedly more numerous than that of Rigaud; but I ſuſpect it is worſe appointed and provided. The Mulattoes too have infinitely the advantage of the blacks in point of general knowledge and military diſcipline. Rigaud himſelf is a man of ſagacity and experience; but above all, there is this circumſtance attending the Mulattoes (which I think muſt ultimately turn the ſcale in their favour) that they have no poſſibility of retreat, and are well aſſured they muſt either ſubdue their enemies, *or periſh themſelves to a man*. My opinion therefore is, that the Mulattoes will finally become maſters of all the ſea coaſt, and the cultivateable parts of the country; and the fugitive negroes ſeek a refuge in the mountainous and interior diſtricts. If ſuch ſhall be the termination of the preſent civil conteſt in St. Domingo, the Iſland of Jamaica muſt have a vigilant eye to its own ſafety. Its trade, both outwards and homewards, will be expoſed to capture; and ſuch devaſtation may be ſpread over the Windward pariſhes, by hordes of banditti coming thither in open canoes from the ſouthern parts of St. Domingo, as may deſtroy the labour of years, before the ſquadron at Port Royal can give the ſmalleſt aſſiſtance to the inhabitants. Of this impending danger to Jamaica, the Britiſh government is without doubt ſufficiently apprized, and I believe that meaſures are in contemplation how beſt to avert the threatened evil. I will venture however to pronounce, from circumſtances within my own knowledge, that nothing can afford ſolid and permanent ſecurity to Jamaica, but tranquillity at home. Let peace be re-eſtabliſhed between England and France, and all apprehenſions from St. Domingo will vaniſh. The Mulattoes having, after a long and bloody ſtruggle, eſtabliſhed their claim to all the rights of French citizens, have now nothing to deſire but to be conſidered and acknowledged as faithful ſubjects of France; and if the French government, whatever form it may hereafter aſſume, entertains the moſt diſtant hope of reſtoring, in any degree, order and ſubordination in the country; and of deriving any advantage from it as a colony, it will receive them as ſuch; and avail itſelf of their ſervices in ſuppreſſing the remains of revolt and rebellion throughout the iſland. Peace therefore between England and France will convert the Mulattoes of St. Domingo from formidable enemies, into harmleſs and inoffenſive neighbours to the Britiſh Weſt Indies; for it will not then be any longer the buſineſs of our fleets and armies to heighten and extend the miſeries of war on this theatre of bloodſhed, and thus invite retaliation on our own poſſeſſions. If indeed Great Britain judges rightly, ſhe will conſider the reſtoration of order in St. Domingo, as the only certain pledge of future ſecurity to her Weſt Indian colonies.

HISTORY

OF THE

WAR IN THE WEST INDIES,

FROM ITS COMMENCEMENT IN FEBRUARY 1793.

CHAPTER I.

Preliminary Obſervations.—Commencement of the War.—Capture of Tobago.—Fruitleſs Attempt againſt Martinico.—Determination of the Britiſh Miniſtry thereon, and conſequent Preparations for a large Armament to be ſent to the Weſt Indies.—Sir CHARLES GREY *appointed to the Command of the Land Forces, and Sir* JOHN JERVIS *to the Command of the Fleet.—New Arrangement.*

CHAP. I.

Preliminary Obſervations.

WHOEVER has made himſelf acquainted with the hiſtory of the Weſt Indian Iſlands, cannot fail to have obſerved that, whenever the nations of Europe are engaged, from whatever cauſe, in war with each other, thoſe unhappy countries are conſtantly made the theatre of its operations. Thither the combatants repair, as to the arena, to decide their differences; and the miſerable planters, who are never the cauſe, are always the victims of the conteſt!

When, at the pacification of 1763, the claims of Great Britain and France to the neutral Iſlands of St. Lucia, Tobago, St. Vincent, and Dominica, were adjuſted by a diviſion of the ſpoil, many

CHAP. I. Preliminary Obſervations.

circumſtances concurred to induce a hope, that the contending parties would remain ſatisfied with their booty, and not haſtily involve the world again in devaſtation and bloodſhed. One of the cauſes of former conteſts between France and England (the claim to thoſe Iſlands) having been removed, there was certainly reaſon to ſuppoſe that the remembrance of recent calamities, the preſſure of poverty, and the various other diſtreſſes which the war had brought on all the belligerent powers, were circumſtances highly favourable to a continuance of the peace. The ſhort experience of ten years proved the fallacy of this expectation. The martial ſpirit of Great Britain ſickened for employment; and pretences being wanting for directing it towards her ancient enemies, it was turned, in an evil hour, againſt her own ſubjects in North America. Wiſe men foreſaw and predicted, that the reſtleſs and intriguing genius of France would not allow that kingdom to continue an indifferent ſpectator of ſuch a conteſt. Accordingly, in the year 1778, ſhe ruſhed into another war with England, without even affecting to have ſuſtained the ſhadow of provocation; and the conſequence of her injuſtice, and our inſanity, was the loſs not only of thoſe of the Sugar Iſlands, which had been aſſigned to us in 1763, but of almoſt all the reſt; the diſmemberment of the empire, and a combination of dangers from which, at one moment, death ſeemed our only refuge.

Of the capture of the Sugar Iſlands in that war, and their reſtoration to Great Britain, at the peace of 1783, I have ſufficiently treated elſewhere. America alone derived advantage from the conteſt. As the French had engaged in the war without provocation, ſo they retired from the field, not only without benefit, but with manifeſt loſs. They contracted an enormous debt, to the payment of which their ordinary revenues were inadequate; and

Preliminary Obſervations.

perhaps to this circumſtance, more than to any other, the ruin of their ancient government muſt immediately be attributed. So true is the obſervation of our great dramatic poet (and it is equally applicable to nations and to individuals) that

> —— Even handed juſtice
> Commends th' ingredients of our poiſon'd chalice,
> To our own lips. SHAKESPEARE.

To a philoſopher, ſpeculating in his cloſet, it might ſeem that ſuch an event could not fail to operate both as a terrible example, and a profitable leſſon, to the nations of the earth; but above all to thoſe few envied ſtates who have every thing to loſe, and nothing to gain, by a change in their ſituation. Poſterity will either mourn over that page of our hiſtory, or doubt its fidelity, which ſhall record the melancholy truth that, in the year 1792, the government of Great Britain (too proud to learn wiſdom from the misfortunes of others) adopted towards France, the ſame infatuated line of conduct which, a few years before, the French government, nearly under the ſame circumſtances, had purſued towards Great Britain. Our conduct was ſimilar; may the mercy of Divine Providence avert from us a ſimilar iſſue!

February 1793.

WAR being thus renewed (firſt proclaimed, I admit, on the part of France, but provoked undoubtedly by the raſh councils and imperious language of the Britiſh Adminiſtration,) the Weſt Indies became, as uſual, the ſcene of military enterprize; and Great Britain had the advantage (if an advantage it might be called) of making the firſt onſet. On the 10th of February 1793, a few days only after notice had been received of the French declaration of war, directions were tranſmitted to Major General

Cuyler, the commander in chief of the Britiſh troops in the Windward Iſlands, and to Sir John Laforey, who commanded in the naval department, to attempt the reduction of Tobago. As moſt of the proprietors in that Iſland were Engliſh, it was ſuppoſed that an Engliſh armament would be favourably received by the inhabitants; and the event juſtified this expectation. The Iſland ſurrendered, without any great ſtruggle, on the 17th of April.

Of the territory thus re-annexed to the Britiſh dominion, I ſhall give the beſt account I am able to collect in a ſubſequent Chapter. At preſent I am unwilling to interrupt the narrative of military tranſactions, by diſquiſitions either on its paſt hiſtory, or its preſent importance; and ſhall therefore proceed to the next attempt of the Britiſh forces in this part of the world, which I am ſorry to obſerve had a leſs favourable termination.

It was an attack on Martinico; an enterprize of great magnitude; for the labours and ingenuity of man had co-operated with the hand of nature, in rendering that Iſland one of the ſtrongeſt countries in the world. In 1759, it had ſucceſsfully reſiſted a formidable Britiſh armament of ten ſhips of the line, beſides frigates and bomb ketches, having on board 5,800 regular troops; and although the Iſland ſurrendered three years afterwards, to a much ſuperior force, yet the gallant and vigorous reſiſtance which the garriſon was enabled to make on that occaſion, for upwards of three weeks, ought ſurely to have induced great caution and conſideration with regard to future expeditions againſt a country ſo amply provided, both by nature and art, with the means of defence.

In the preſent conjuncture, the whole of the Britiſh force in the Windward Iſlands, was known and allowed to be, of itſelf, vaſtly inadequate to the object in view; but ſuch repreſentations had been ſpread throughout the army, concerning the diſaffection of the greater part of the inhabitants of all the French iſlands towards the republican government, recently eſtabliſhed on the ruins of their monarchy, as to create a very general belief that the appearance of a Britiſh armament before the capital of Martinico, would alone produce an immediate ſurrender. General Bruce, on whom the chief command of our troops had devolved in the interim, was indeed aſſured by a deputation from the principal planters of the Iſland that "a body of 800 regular troops, would be more than ſufficient to overcome all poſſible reſiſtance."

Theſe repreſentations (as the General himſelf informed the king's miniſters) induced him, in conjunction with admiral Gardner, to undertake the expedition; and the land forces having been embarked in the ſhips of war, the armament arrived off Cape Navire on the 11th of June 1793. On the 16th the Britiſh troops, in number eleven hundred, made good their landing; and having been joined by a body of about eight hundred French royaliſts, took poſſeſſion of a very ſtrong poſt within five miles of St. Pierre, it being the General's intention to attack the two forts which defended that town. The plan however did not ſucceed, and I regret that I am unable to furniſh a ſatisfactory account of the cauſes of its failure. Whatever information might have been contained in the diſpatches from the commander in chief to government, all that has been communicated to the public lies in a narrow compaſs, and I ſhall repeat the ſubſtantial part in the General's own words: "The morning of the 18th (he obſerves) "was the time fixed for the attack, and we were to move forward "in two columns, the one conſiſting of the Britiſh troops, the

“ other of the French Royaliſts; and for this purpoſe, the troops “ were put in motion before day break; but, unfortunately, ſome “ alarm having taken place amongſt the royaliſts, they began, in a “ miſtake, firing on one another, and their commander being ſe- “ verely wounded on the occaſion, his troops were diſconcerted, “ and inſtantly retired to the poſt from which they had marched.” “ This conduct (continues the General) ſtrongly proved that no “ dependance could be placed on the royaliſts, and that the attack “ againſt St. Pierre, muſt have been carried on ſolely by the Bri- “ tiſh troops, to which their numbers were not equal. They were “ therefore ordered to return to their former poſts, from whence “ they re-embarked; &c.”

This is the whole, or nearly the whole, of what the Britiſh adminiſtration thought proper to furniſh for the gratification of the public curioſity, concerning the conduct and failure of this unfortunate expedition; and indeed it is ſufficient to demonſtrate, that the ſtrong aſſurances which had been given, and the ſanguine expectations which had been formed, of ſupport and aſſiſtance from the greater part of the French inhabitants, conſiſting in the whole of upwards of 10,000 whites, were not juſtified by the event. It reflects therefore great honour on the liberal and humane diſpoſition of the Britiſh commander, that they did not ſuffer the diſappointment which they muſt have felt on this occaſion, to operate to the diſadvantage of thoſe of the French planters, by whom ſuch aſſurances were held forth, and who, though miſtaken as to their countrymen, manifeſted the ſincerity of their own profeſſions by their ſubſequent conduct. “ As they would certainly have fallen victims,” obſerves General Bruce, “ to the implacable malignity of the republican party, as “ ſoon as we quitted the iſland it became in a manner incumbent

" on us, in ſupport of the national character, to uſe our utmoſt " exertions to bring theſe unhappy people from the ſhore; and although the neceſſity of impreſſing ſuch veſſels as could be " found, and the purchaſing proviſions from the merchant veſſels, " will incur a great expence, I have nevertheleſs ventured upon it, " truſting for my juſtification to the generous and humane diſpoſition exhibited by the Britiſh nation on ſimilar occaſions. We " were therefore employed in embarking theſe people from the " 19th to the 21ſt;" &c. &c.

Notwithſtanding this diſcouraging account, the Britiſh miniſters, on receiving intelligence of general Bruce's miſcarriage, conſidered themſelves imperiouſly called upon to vindicate the honour of the Engliſh arms, by enterpriſes of greater magnitude in the ſame quarter. They reſolved to ſend thither, forthwith, ſuch an armament, as, in addition to the Britiſh force already in the Weſt Indies, ſhould be ſufficient not only for the conqueſt of Martinico, but even " to diſlodge the enemy from every one of their poſſeſſions in that part of the world:" Such was their declaration.

The neceſſity of diſpatching to that part of the king's dominions a conſiderable reinforcement, could not indeed admit of doubt or delay. The preſervation of many of our ſugar iſlands, rendered ſuch a meaſure indiſpenſable; but the queſtion whether it was conſiſtent with prudence and good policy to proſecute offenſive war in that quarter, rather than confine our attention ſolely to the defence of the Britiſh territories there, involves in it many great and weighty conſiderations. A few reflections which have occurred to me on this head will be found towards the concluſion of my narrative.

Such, however, whether wiſely or not, was the ſyſtem approved

CHAP. I. 1793.

proved by the Britiſh miniſters; and it muſt I think be admitted that, if a war of conqueſt in the Weſt Indies was, at all hazards, a proper and juſtifiable meaſure, the comprehenſive plan, which embraced the whole poſſeſſions of the French in the windward iſlands, originated in ſound policy: certainly it was wiſe, either to attempt the conqueſt of all of them, or to leave all of them unmoleſted. Every man who is acquainted with the relative ſituation of the French and Britiſh colonies in thoſe iſlands, the condition of each, and their affinity to each other, will allow that, in this caſe, there was no medium.

It muſt likewiſe be admitted, that the preparations which the miniſters cauſed to be made, in conſequence of this determination, correſponded to the magnitude and extent of their views. Orders were iſſued for the immediate embarkation of fourteen regiments of infantry, conſiſting of near eleven thouſand men; a fleet compoſed of four firſt rate ſhips of war and nine frigates, beſides ſloops, bomb ketches, and tranſports, was appointed to convey them to the ſcene of action, and act in conjunction with them. And that no poſſible doubt might ariſe in the public mind concerning the judicious application of this great armament to its proper object, the whole was placed under the direction of two of the moſt diſtinguiſhed officers which any age or nation has produced; the chief command being aſſigned to Sir CHARLES GREY, General of the land forces; and the naval department to vice-admiral Sir JOHN JERVIS. Neither muſt it paſs unobſerved, in juſtice to the different public offices of this kingdom, that the whole was ready for its departure in leſs than three months after the receipt of General Bruce's diſpatches.

How much it is to be lamented that this great and deciſive plan was not perſiſted in to the laſt, the circumſtances which I ſhall hereafter record, will mournfully demonſtrate. It is with pain I relate, that a few days only before Sir Charles Grey expected to ſail, a new arrangement was made, by which no leſs than 4,600 of the troops that had been placed under his orders, were detached from the reſt, and employed on another ſervice; the miniſters apologizing to the General, by intimating that it was not expected of him to accompliſh all the objects for which the more extenſive armament had been judged neceſſary.

Although it cannot eaſily be ſuppoſed that this unexpected diminution of his army, any more than the apology which was made for it (by which it was evident that the original plan was abandoned by government) could be matter of ſatisfaction to the commander in chief, yet he ſilently acquieſced in the meaſure; and, as the ſecretary of ſtate afterwards very honourably and handſomely obſerved in the Houſe of Commons, "did never-
"theleſs complete all the conqueſts which were in contemplation
"before any reduction of his force had taken place."

The reader's firſt impreſſion therefore will naturally be, that although a leſs force was actually employed than was allotted for this expedition, the deficiency was abundantly ſupplied by the ſpirit and energy of the army and navy, and the wiſdom and deciſion of the commanders; that the objects in view being fully obtained, though with leſs means than were at firſt ſuggeſted, the original ſyſtem was in truth carried into full effect; and of courſe the reduction of the army, juſtified by ſubſequent events.

How far this reaſoning can be ſupported, the ſequel will ſhew. I ſhall proceed in the next chapter with a detail of military tranſactions in the order they occurred.

CHAPTER II.*

Sir Charles Grey arrives at Barbadoes, and ſails for the Attack of Martinico.—Proceedings of the Army and Navy, until the Surrender of that Iſland.

CHAP. II. January 1794. ON the 26th of November 1793, the armament, reduced as was ſtated in the latter part of the preceding Chapter, ſailed from St. Helen's, and on the 6th of January, 1794, the ſquadron caſt anchor in Carliſle Bay, in the iſland of Barbadoes: It was afterwards reinforced by the Aſia, of 64 guns, and ſome additional frigates.

After a month's ſtay at Barbadoes (an interval which was uſefully employed in preparing gun-boats, in training the ſeamen for land ſervice, and in attendance on the ſick) the ſquadron ſailed for the attack of Martinico; having on board, of land forces (including a detachment of negro dragoons) 6,085 effective men.

February 1794. On Wedneſday, the 5th of February, the fleet approached the South-Eaſtern coaſt of that iſland, and the General (having previouſly made the neceſſary arrangements with Sir John Jervis) divided the army into three detachments, with a view to land them at three ſeparate and diſtinct quarters. Theſe were Gallion bay, on the Northern coaſt, Caſe de Navires nearly oppoſite, on the South, and Trois Rivieres towards the South-Eaſt. The firſt detachment was commanded by Major General Dundas, the ſecond by Colonel Sir Charles Gordon, and the third by the General himſelf, aſſiſted by Lieutenant General Preſcott. The meaſure was well concerted; for by inducing the enemy to divide his force, it enabled the Britiſh to effect their landing at each place, with very little loſs.

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* It is proper to obſerve that moſt of what is related in this chapter, concerning the proceedings of the army and navy, in the attack and conqueſt of Martinico, is copied from the public diſpatches of the reſpective commanders. The few particulars which I have interwoven in ſome places, and added in others, are derived partly from the comprehenſive and circumſtantial account which was publiſhed by the Rev. Cooper Willyams; and partly from private communications from officers who were in actual ſervice in this campaign. I have arranged the whole after my own manner, in the view (as I hoped) of giving the detail greater clearneſs and perſpicuity, than can be expected from diſpatches written commonly in great haſte on the ſpur of the moment.

On the evening of the ſame day, Major General Dundas, with his detachment, eſcorted by Commodore Thomſon and his diviſion, arrived off the bay of Gallion: Capt. Faulkner in the Zebra led, and immediately drove the enemy from a battery on Point a' Chaux. The troops then diſembarked without further oppoſition, about three miles from the town of Trinité, and halted for the night. Early the next morning they began their march, but were ſomewhat annoyed in their progreſs by a fire of muſketry from the cane-fields, where a body of the enemy lay concealed. The aim of the Major Gen. was to take Morne Le Brun, a ſtrong poſt, ſituated on an eminence immediately over the town. This he happily effected, and inſtantly detaching Lieut. Col. Craddock with the ſecond battalion of grenadiers, and Major Evatt with three companies of light-infantry, to attack Trinité fort, the enemy fled, and our troops took poſſeſſion of it, with the cannon and ſtores. Commodore Thompſon poſſeſſed himſelf at the ſame time of the veſſels in the harbour, but the town itſelf was deſtroyed by the enemy; for Bellegarde, the popular leader of the Mulattoes, being obliged to evacuate a fort bearing his own name, maliciouſly ſet fire to Trinité as he retired, and the beſt part of the

houſes,

houſes, with a quantity of ſtores of all kinds, were conſumed by the flames.

On the evening of the 7th, Major Gen. Dundas, leaving Major Skirrett and a party of marines to command at Trinité fort, proceeded with his brigade to Gros Morne, a ſituation of great importance, commanding the principal paſs between the Northern and Southern parts of the iſland; but although the fortifications were ſtrong and extenſive, the Major Gen. found the place entirely evacuated, the enemy having retired at his approach. Puſhing forward again, the Major Gen. on the 9th, took poſſeſſion of a ſtrong ſituation called Bruneau, about two leagues North of Fort Bourbon, the enemy retreating as before. From thence, Major Gen. Dundas detached Lieut. Col. Craddock with three companies of grenadiers to ſeize Fort Matilde, which covered a good landing within two miles of his left, and where the enemy appeared in conſiderable force; but on Lieut. Col. Craddock's approach, they evacuated the place. Of this poſt the Britiſh troops, being reinforced with a company of grenadiers, held quiet poſſeſſion that night, and the whole of the enſuing day; but in the night between the 10th and 11th, they were attacked by 800 of the enemy, under the command of Bellegarde, the Mulatto General. Our troops were rather taken by ſurprize; but recovering themſelves, the enemy was totally repulſed, and compelled to take ſhelter in Fort Bourbon. In this action Capt. M'Ewen of the 38th, and ſeven privates were killed, and nineteen wounded.

Col. Sir Charles Gordon, with the brigade under his command, was not able to make good his landing at Caſe de Navires; but on the morning of the 8th he landed at Caſe Pilotte; when finding that the enemy were maſters of the great road and the heights above it, he made a circuitous movement through the mountains, and aſcended until, by day-break of the 9th, he had gained, unmoleſted by the enemy, the moſt commanding poſt in that part of the country: Col. Myers, deſcending from the heights, took poſſeſſion of La Chapelle, and a poſt eſtabliſhed by the enemy above it. On his return the column proceeded, through very difficult ground, to the heights of Berne, above Ance La Haye; the enemy keeping a conſtant fire in the mean time from the batteries of St. Catharine. Sir Charles Gordon had now a poſition which gave him an eaſy communication with the tranſports; when on the 12th, obſerving that the battery and works at St. Catharine, and the poſts which guarded the firſt ravine, were abandoned by the enemy, he took poſſeſſion of them, while Col. Myers, with five companies of grenadiers, and the forty-third regiment, croſſed four ravines higher up, and ſeized all the batteries by which they were defended. The enemy now fled on every ſide, and our troops were ſoon in poſſeſſion of the five batteries between Cas de Navires and Fort Royal. They then proceeded and occupied the poſts of Gentilly, La Coſte, and La Archet, within a league of Fort Bourbon.

In the meanwhile, the commander in chief, with Lieut. Gen. Preſcott, and that part of the army which had landed at Trois Riviers, had marched from thence acroſs a very difficult country, to the river Saleé, and entered the town of the ſame name, ſituated on the banks of the river. On the march, Brigadier Gen. Whyte was detached with the ſecond battalion of light-infantry, to force the batteries of Cape Solomon and Point a Burgos, in order to obtain poſſeſſion of Iſlet aux Ramieres, or Pigeon Iſland, an important object, the attainment of which was neceſſary to enable our ſhips to get into the harbour of Fort Royal. Thoſe batteries were accordingly ſtormed, and the Brigadier Gen. being reinforced with a detachment of Royal and Iriſh artillery and 200 ſeamen, ſent Col. Symes with the ſeamen, and two companies of the 15th regiment, to aſcend the heights, and take poſſeſſion of Mount Matharine, which commanded Pigeon Iſland at the diſtance of 400 yards. This was happily accompliſhed on the 9th, and batteries erected on it. Theſe were completed during the night of the 10th, and on Tueſday morning, the 11th, they were opened, and ſo well pointed and inceſſant a fire was kept up, under the direction of Capt. Pratt of the Iriſh artillery, that in two hours the garriſon ſtruck their colours, and ſurrendered at diſcretion, with the loſs of 15 men killed and 25 wounded.

The Iſlet aux Ramieres, or Pigeon Iſland, is ſituated on the South ſide of the bay of Fort Royal, about two hundred yards from the ſhore. It is in itſelf a ſteep and barren rock, inacceſſible except in one place only, where the aſcent is by a ladder, fixed againſt a perpendicular wall; and the ſummit is 90 feet above the level of the ſea. There were found on it, 11 forty-two pounders, 6 thirty-two pounders, 14 thirteen-inch mortars, and one howitzer, with an immenſe quantity of ſtores and ammunition of all kinds, and a ſtove for heating ſhot.

On the capture of this fortreſs, the ſquadron immediately took poſſeſſion of the bay and harbour of Fort Royal; and moſt of the tranſports and ſtoreſhips got up to Cohee, a harbour at the North Eaſt end of the bay, from whence they had a communication by a chain of poſts, with the troops at Bruneau; and the next object of attention was St. Pierre, the capital of the iſland, in the attack of which, the co-operation of the forces, both by ſea and land, was indiſpenſably neceſſary.

In conſequence of an arrangement for this enterprize, Col. Symes, with three light companies, and Major Maitland, with the

50th regiment, embarked on board a detachment of the ſquadron, which were ordered for the bay of St. Pierre.

On the 14th the commander in chief moved forward with his army to Bruneau, where we left Major Gen. Dundas, and on the evening of the ſame day the Major Gen. marched from thence to Gros Morne with the 2d battalion of grenadiers, the 33d and 40th light companies, and the 65th regiment. From Gros Morne he detached Col. Campbell through the woods by Bois le Bue, with the two light companies and the 65th regiment, to the attack of Montigne, proceeding himſelf towards the heights of Capot and Callebaſſe, from both which the enemy retired: From the latter the Major Gen. had a diſtant view of Col. Campbell's detachment, and the mortification to ſee them attacked by a great body of the enemy, ſtrongly poſted about half a mile ſhort of Montigne. The Major Gen. immediately puſhed forward his advanced guard under the command of the Hon. Capt. Ramſay; who, by extraordinary exertions, came up with the enemy while engaged wich Col. Campbell's detachment, and ſilenced their fire, but the Colonel himſelf had unfortunately fallen early in the engagement. Capt. Ramſay being joined by the ſecond battalion of grenadiers, now took poſſeſſion of Montigne, and the Major Gen. took poſt on Morne Rouge. The ſame evening, the Major Gen. obſerving ſeveral bodies of the enemy moving towards his front, and forming under a ſmall redoubt, ordered 4 companies of grenadiers to advance, and a ſmart engagement enſued; the enemy was covered by a briſk fire, from two field pieces on Morne Belleveiur. The action continued for about half an hour, when the enemy retreated and during the night abandoned the fort on Morne Bellevieur, of which our troops immediately took poſſeſſion.

CHAP. II. 1794.

Our army had now arrived within two leagues of St. Pierre, from whence at day-break, on the 16th, the enemy ſent a flag, requiring three days to conſider of a capitulation. The Major General returned for anſwer, that inſtead of three days he would allow them only three hours; and leaving a company of grenadiers in poſſeſſion of Bellevieur, he immediately moved on towards St. Pierre. At this juncture, the detachment of the ſquadron arrived in the bay, and began their operations. Colonel Symes, with the troops and ſeamen who were to land with him, had, previous to their entering the bay, embarked on board the Zebra and Nautilus ſloops, which drawing little water could land them without difficulty. In the evening of the 16th theſe veſſels approached the North part of the bay, the other men of war ſtanding in to cover them from the fire of the enemy. Capt. Hervey, in the Santa Margarita, perceiving the troops were likely to be much annoyed by two batteries with heated ſhot, ſteered cloſe under the guns of the moſt conſiderable of them, and effectually ſilenced it. About four in the morning of the 17th, the troops made good their landing, and immediately advanced towards St. Pierre; but the conflict was at an end, for the enemy ſeeing the Britiſh approach both by ſea and by land, evacuated the town, leaving their colours flying, which were immediately hauled down, and the Britiſh colours placed in their room. By ten o'clock the whole of Colonel Symes's detachment had marched into the town, and were ſoon afterwards joined by General Dundas and his army.

No injury was done, nor outrage offered to the inhabitants; the women and children ſat at their doors to ſee the ſoldiers march in, as peaceably and cheerfully as the inhabitants of an Engliſh village behold a regiment paſs through their ſtreets. One inſtance only occurred, an attempt to pillage; for which the offender was immediately hung up by the Provoſt Marſhal, at the gate of the Jeſuits College.

The town of St. Pierre's being thus captured *, and many important poſts in different parts of the country already in poſſeſſion of the Britiſh troops, it might have been ſuppoſed that the ſurrender of the iſland was ſpeedily to have followed; but ſo great was the natural and artificial ſtrength of the country, and ſo obſtinately was it defended on this occaſion by the inhabitants, that much remained to be done before this event took place. The two great forts of Bourbon and Fort Royal (the former commanded by Rochambeau the Governor of the Iſland) were ſtill to be conquered; and it was impoſſible cloſely to inveſt Fort Bourbon, without firſt poſſeſſing the heights of Surié or Sourier, a ſituation eminently ſtrong and difficult, and defended by a large body of the enemy, under the command of the Mulatto General Bellegarde. The commander in chief therefore propoſed to attack this poſt from his camp at Bruneau, on the night of the 18th, and to depend for ſucceſs ſolely on a vigorous uſe of the bayonet; but, a few hours previous to the time he had fixed for the enterprize, Bellegarde himſelf, with part of his troops, deſcended the heights, and attacked the General's left. His intention was, if poſſible, to cut off the communication between the Britiſh army and navy. The attempt was bold, but it was ruinous. The General immediately perceived the advantage to be derived from

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* Lieut. Malcolm of the 41ſt grenadiers, was appointed Town Major, in conſideration of his diſtinguiſhed conduct and active ſervices at the head of a body of riflemen, which was compoſed of two men ſelected from each company of the firſt battalion of grenadiers. We ſhall have occaſion to mention this officer hereafter.

CHAP. II. 1794.

it, and ſeized it in the moment; for, directing Lieut. Gen. Preſcott to keep the enemy in check, he ordered from his right Lieut. Col. Buckeridge, with the third battalion of grenadiers, and Lieut. Colonels Coote and Blundell, with the 1ſt and 2d battalions of light infantry, to attack Bellegarde's camp on the left. In this ſervice this detachment diſplayed ſuch ſpirit and impetuoſity as proved irreſiſtible, and poſſeſſion being taken of Bellegarde's camp, his own cannon were turned againſt him. This unfortunate man and his ſecond in command, with about 300 of their followers, ſurrendered themſelves to the General a few days afterwards, the two leaders deſiring to be ſent to North America, on condition of never ſerving againſt his Majeſty; and in this requeſt they were gratified. Their followers were ſent on board the king's ſhips as priſoners of war.

From the 20th of February, Forts Bourbon and Louis, with the town of Fort Royal, were completely inveſted, and the General was buſily employed in erecting batteries on his firſt parallel. On the north-eaſt ſide, the army under General Preſcott broke ground on the 25th of February, and on the weſt ſide towards La Caſte, faſcine batteries for mortars and cannon were erecting with all poſſible expedition. In this buſineſs the ſeamen eminently diſtinguiſhed themſelves; and the ſiege was carried on with unremitted exertion by night and day; the moſt perfect co-operation prevailing between the army and navy; the exertions of both being animated by the preſence and approbation of his Royal Highneſs Prince Edward, who arrived from Quebec the 4th of March, and taking the command of Sir Charles Gordon's brigade, ſet an admirable example of diſcipline and good conduct to the whole army, by his behaviour, during the remainder of the campaign. The advanced batteries were at length brought within five hundred yards of Fort Bourbon, and not more than two hundred from ſrom the redoubt; when on the 17th of March the General concerted meaſures with the Admiral for a combined aſſault by the naval and land forces upon the fort and town of Fort Royal. Scaling ladders being provided, and the neceſſary arrangements ſettled, the ſhips deſtined for the ſervice took their ſtations on the morning of the 20th of March. The Aſia and the Zebra ſloop, with Captain Rogers, and a body of ſeamen in flat boats (the whole under the command of Commodore Thompſon) compoſed the naval force; the land force conſiſted of the firſt battalion of grenadiers, the firſt and third light infantry, with the third grenadiers.

About 10 o'clock the Aſia and Zebra got under way. The Zebra led in, towards the mouth of the harbour, receiving the enemy's fire, without returning a ſhot. The Aſia had got within the range of grape ſhot, when, to the ſurprize of the whole fleet, ſhe wore and made ſail from the fort. She ſtood in a ſecond time, and again put about *. Now then it was that Captain Faulkner of the Zebra acquired immortal honour; for perceiving that he could not expect any aſſiſtance from the Aſia (a ſhip of the line) he determined to undertake the ſervice alone in his ſmall ſloop of 16 guns, and he executed this deſign with matchleſs intrepidity and good conduct; for running the Zebra cloſe to the walls, and leaping overboard at the head of his ſloop's company, he ſcaled the ramparts, and drove the enemy from the fort. "No "language of mine (ſays Admiral Jervis) can expreſs the merit "of Capt. Faulkner on this occaſion; but as every man in the "army and ſquadron bears teſtimony to it, this incomparable

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* It is ſaid that a French loyaliſt, named Toureller, who had formerly been lieutenant of Fort Louis, was employed by Capt. Brown as pilot on this occaſion, and that this man, under pretence of ſhoals, refuſed to carry the ſhip any farther.

"action cannot fail of being recorded in the page of hiſtory." Col. Symes, in the ſame triumphant moment, entered and took poſſeſſion of the town.

This ſignal ſucceſs determined the fate of the Iſland; for General Rochambeau, perceiving that all was loſt, immediately ſent a flag from Fort Bourbon, offering to ſurrender on capitulation. The terms were accordingly adjuſted on the 23d, and on the 25th the garriſon, reduced to 900 men, marched out priſoners of war. To the gallantry with which this fortreſs was defended, General Grey bore an honourable teſtimony, by obſerving that "the Britiſh troops, on entering the place, could ſcarcely find an "inch of ground which had not been touched by their ſhot or "their ſhells."

Thus was atchieved the conqueſt of Martinico, with the loſs on the part of the Britiſh of 71 men killed, 193 wounded, and of three that were miſſing. The limits I have preſcribed to myſelf will not allow me to enumerate the particular merits of all thoſe gallant men, whoſe ſervices, both by ſea and land, were conſpicuous on this occaſion. Hiſtory will not fail to record them, and above all to give due honour to that zealous co-operation, to that admirable ſpirit of unanimity and concord between the ſea and land ſervice, which were particularly obſervable during the whole ſiege; and for want of which, in other caſes, both numbers and courage have oftentimes proved unavailing.

CHAP. II.
1794.

⁂ Immediately on the ſurrender of the Iſland, the following proclamation was iſſued in General Orders:

Head Quarters, Fort Royal, 25th March 1794.

Parole, FORT GEORGE. C. S. FORT EDWARD.

Field Officer, COLONEL COOTE.

THE Commander in Chief orders Fort Bourbon now to bear the name of Fort George, and Fort Louis to bear the name of Fort Edward; and to be called ſo in future. The commander in chief, with heartfelt ſatisfaction, congratulates the army on the complete conqueſt of the Iſland of Martinico, a moſt important acquiſition to his Majeſty's crown. He begs permiſſion to return the army in general his warmeſt thanks for their zeal, perſeverance, gallantry, and ſpirit, ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed, and never before exceeded, by every rank, from the general to the ſoldier, throughout this ſervice; and this juſtice he cannot fail to do them in the ſtrongeſt language to his Majeſty.

CHAPTER III.

Conqueſt of St. Lucia.—Deſcription of Guadaloupe.—Proceedings againſt that Iſland.—Its Surrender completes the Conqueſt of the French Weſt India Colonies.—Cauſe of the ſubſequent Reverſes.—Mortality among the Britiſh.—Arrival of a French Squadron with Troops at Guadaloupe.—Their Succeſſes: followed by the Reduction of the whole Iſland.—Inhuman Barbarity of Victor Hugues to the Royaliſts.—Sir C. Grey and Sir J. Jervis, ſucceeded by Sir J. Vaughan and Admiral Caldwell.

CHAP. III.

March 1794.

VICTORY having thus far crowned the Britiſh arms, General Grey determined, without loſs of time, to perſevere in his career of glory; wherefore, leaving five regiments under the command of General Preſcott, for the protection of Martinico, he and the brave Admiral proceeded, on the morning of the 31ſt of March, to the attack of St. Lucia. This iſland had not the means of a formidable defence; and on the 4th of April, his Royal Highneſs Prince Edward, after a fatiguing march of fourteen hours from the landing place, hoiſted the Britiſh colours on its chief fortreſs Morne Fortuné; the garriſon, conſiſting of 300 men, having ſurrendered on the ſame terms of capitulation as thoſe that had been granted to General Rochambeau. Ricard, the officer commanding in St. Lucia, deſired and obtained permiſſion, as Rochambeau had done before him, to embark for North America; but the garriſons of both, of St. Lucia and Martinico, were ſent to France immediately on their ſurrender *.

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* So rapid were the movements of the Britiſh army, that his Royal Highneſs Prince Edward reimbarked in the Boyne at the end of 58 hours after he had landed at St. Lucia. It is impoſſible to mention this iſland without lamenting that it has proved in every war a grave to thouſands of brave men! On the preſent occaſion a circumſtance

After the completion of this ſervice, General Grey, having left the ſixth and ninth regiments, with detachments of artillery and engineers, as a garriſon for St. Lucia, and appointed Sir Charles Gordon governor of that iſland, returned to Martinico; and the ſpirit of enterprize among the ſoldiers being thus kept alive and encouraged, the General turned his attention in the next place to the large and fertile colony of Guadaloupe.

It is neceſſary the reader ſhould be apprized in this place, that Guadaloupe conſiſts in fact of two iſlands, divided from each other by a narrow arm of the ſea, called La Riviere Salee, (Salt River) which is navigable for veſſels of 50 tons; the Eaſtern Iſland, or diviſion, being called Grande Terre, and the weſtern Baſſe Terre. Adjoining the former, is a ſmall iſland called Deſirade, and near to the latter a cluſter of little iſlands called the Les Saintes. At ſome diſtance from theſe, towards the eaſt, is another iſland called Marie Gallante; all theſe were dependencies on Guadaloupe, and comprized in its government.

On Tueſday the 8th of April, ſuch of the troops as remained after the neceſſary garriſons for the conquered iſlands were formed, embarked in tranſports, and the fleet ſailed from the Bay of Fort Royal. A detachment of the ſquadron having been ſent in the firſt place to attack the little iſlands above mentioned, called the Saintes, that ſervice was executed with much ſpirit and gallantry by a party of ſeamen and marines; and about noon on the 10th, the Boyne and Veteran caſt anchor in the Bay of Point a Petre, in the

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circumſtance occurred which demonſtrates in a very ſtriking manner the extreme unwholeſomeneſs of the climate. The night after the troops had landed, the firſt battalion of grenadiers took poſſeſſion of ſome negro huts: the ſecond battalion had no ſuch accommodation, or rather choſe to remain in the open air. The conſequence was, that while the former continued healthy, 40 of the beſt men of the latter were returned the next morning on the ſick liſt.

diviſion of Grande Terre; a freſh wind and lee current preventing many of the tranſports from getting in until the day following.

Without waiting however for the arrival of all the troops, the General effected the landing of a conſiderable detachment, with the addition of 500 marines at Groſier bay, at one o'clock in the morning of the 11th, under cover of the Winchelſea man of war, the Captain of which, Lord Viſcount Garlies, being the only perſon that was wounded on the occaſion. "He received a bad contu-"ſion (obſerves Admiral Jervis) from the fire of a battery againſt "which he had placed his ſhip, *in the good old way*, within half "muſket ſhot." The battery however was ſoon ſilenced, and early on the morning of the 12th, the Fort of La Fleur d'Epée was carried by aſſault, and the greateſt part of the garriſon put to the ſword. Fort St. Louis, the town of Point a Petre, and the new battery upon Iſlet a Cochon, being afterwards abandoned, and the inhabitants flying in all directions, the poſſeſſion of Grande Terre was complete.

The reduction of Baſſe Terre was effected the 21ſt of the ſame month; for the ſtrong poſt of Palmiſte being carried by the gallantry of Prince Edward and Col. Symes, and that of Houelmont by Major Gen. Dundas, the French governor (Collot) immediately capitulated; ſurrendering the whole of Guadaloupe and all its dependencies to the king of Great Britain, on the ſame terms that were allowed to Rochambeau at Martinique, and Ricard at Lucia. It is pleaſing to add, that this conqueſt was happily effected with the loſs on the part of the Britiſh of only ſeventeen men killed, and about fifty wounded *.

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* From a return found among General Collot's papers, it appeared that the number of French troops in Guadaloupe was 5877.

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CHAP. III.
1794.

This gallant and ſucceſsful enterpriſe compleated the entire conqueſt of the French poſſeſſions in the Weſt Indian Iſlands, and the primary views and declarations of the Britiſh miniſters were thus wonderfully, and I believe unexpectedly, realized by Britiſh energy and valour. Happy, if the ſcene had ſhut at this period, and no envious cloud overcaſt the cloſe of a campaign, the opening and progreſs of which had ſhone with ſo bright a luſtre in the eyes of all Europe!

But now it was that the meaſure of reducing the army at the outſet of the expedition, began to manifeſt thoſe unhappy conſequences, which it was then predicted would enſue from it. In allotting garriſons for the ſecurity of the ſeveral iſlands which had ſurrendered, the deficiency of troops for that purpoſe, was at once obvious and alarming. It was diſcovered that the mortality had been ſo great (more from ſickneſs, the never failing effect of extraordinary exertion in tropical climates, than the ſword of the enemy) as to have reduced the ranks to nearly one half their original numbers; and of the troops which remained alive, a very large proportion were ſo worn down by unremitting fatigue, as to be rendered abſolutely incapable of efficient ſervice. Unfortunately, the numerous enterpriſes in which the Britiſh forces were engaged, and eſpecially the fatal, and never-enough to be lamented, attempt on St. Domingo, left it not in the power of the king's miniſters, to ſend ſuch a reinforcement to the Windward Iſlands as the occaſion required.

So early, however, as the 22d of March, four regiments, conſiſting of 2377 men, had ſailed from Cork for Barbadoes. They were intended indeed for St. Domingo, but authority was given to General Sir Charles Grey, to detain two of them, if circumſtances ſhould render it neceſſary, to ſerve under his own command in the Windward Iſlands.

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Theſe regiments arrived at Barbadoes on the 5th of May, and the general detained the eight battalion companies of the 35th, one of the four regiments, but obſerving the extreme anxiety which the Britiſh miniſter expreſſed in his diſpatches for proſecuting the enterprize againſt St. Domingo, and truſting (as he writes) "that effectual care would be taken at home to prevent the enemy in the conquered iſlands receiving aſſiſtance from Europe," he replaced thoſe battalion companies with eight flank companies from his own army, which was thus rather diminiſhed than augmented by the exchange *.

From this period, the tide which had hitherto flowed with ſo rapid and proſperous a current, began to run in a contrary direction. The ſickneſs which had for ſome time prevailed in the army, was become exaſperated to peſtilence. The troops ſunk

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* Theſe flank companies proceeded firſt to Jamaica, and from thence to Port au Prince, and nothing can afford a more ſtriking demonſtration of the ſad conſequence of tropical warfare, than the account which has been given of this reinforcement on its arrival at the place of its deſtination. "On the 8th of June, eight flank companies "belonging to the 22d, 24d, 35th, and 41ſt regiments, arrived at Port au Prince, "under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Lenox. They conſiſted, on their "embarkation, of about ſeventy men each, but the aggregate number, when landed, "was not quite three hundred. The four grenadier companies, in particular, were "nearly annihilated. The frigate in which they were conveyed, became a houſe of "peſtilence. Upwards of one hundred of their number were buried in the deep, in "the ſhort paſſage between Guadaloupe and Jamaica, and one hundred and fifty "more were left in a dying ſtate at Port Royal. The wretched remains of the whole "detachment diſcovered, on their landing at Port au Prince, that they came not to "participate in the glories of conqueſt, but to periſh themſelves within the walls of "an hoſpital! So rapid was the mortality in the Britiſh army, after their arrival, that "no leſs than forty officers, and upwards of ſix hundred rank and file, met an untimely "death, without a conteſt with any other enemy than ſickneſs, in the ſhort ſpace of "two months after the ſurrender of the town."

Hiſtorical Survey of St. Domingo, Chap. ii. p. 163.

ſunk under it in great numbers, and among its moſt diſtinguiſhed victims, was major general Dundas, the governor of Guadaloupe. On the 4th of June the commander in chief (being at that time with the admiral inſpecting the ſtate of St. Chriſtopher's) received the melancholy account of this gallant officer's death, and early on the morning of the 5th further intelligence arrived, which rendered his loſs at that juncture doubly afflicting. This was nothing leſs than the very unexpected information, that a French armament of conſiderable force was, at that moment, off Point a Petre!

On receipt of this intelligence, the admiral made immediate ſail for Guadaloupe, and arrived there on the afternoon of the 7th, and having put the commander in chief aſhore at Baſſe Terre, he proceeded with the ſhips to Point a Petre; but found that the enemy had not only made good their landing; but had alſo forced Fort Fleur d'Epée on the preceding day, and were actually in poſſeſſion of the town, and the forts by which it was defended. They had likewiſe ſecured their ſhipping at ſafe anchorage in the harbour. It was now diſcovered that this armament conſiſted of two frigates, a corvette, two large ſhips armed *en flute*, and two other veſſels; having brought with them 1500 regular troops*.

The ſucceſs of the French on this occaſion was the more ſurpriſing, as there was at this time in Guadaloupe a larger proportion of Britiſh troops than in either of the other conquered iſlands: it is aſſerted by a reſpectable author †, who collected his obſervations on the ſcene of action, that the progreſs of the enemy was greatly accelerated by the miſconduct of ſeveral of the French royaliſts then in the fort, a party of whom (miſinformed perhaps as to the real number of the invaders) offered their ſervices to ſally on the beſiegers, and marched out for that purpoſe, under the command of Captain M'Dowall of the 43d, but on approaching the enemy they were panic ſtruck, and deſerted to the town. Thirty of them only out of 140 returned to Fleur d'Epée with captain M'Dowall. The Britiſh merchants and ſailors from the town of Point a Petre, had thrown themſelves into this fort to co-operate with the garriſon. This little band, under the command of Lieutenat Colonel Drummond of the forty-third regiment, did all that gallant men could do; twice they repulſed the aſſailants; but the French royaliſts who remained in the fort, conceiving the vain hope of obtaining mercy for themſelves by a ſurrender, inſiſted at length that the gates ſhould be thrown open. This was no ſooner done, than the enemy poured in from all ſides, and the few ſurviving Britiſh ſoldiers (not more than 40 in number) were obliged to make the beſt retreat they could to Fort Louis. This place not being tenable after the loſs of Fleur d'Epée, was ſoon abandoned by them, and they croſſed over to Baſſe Terre *.

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* This armament ſailed from Rochfort on the 25th of April.

† Rev. Cooper Williams, Chaplain to the Boyne.

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* The celebrated Brigadier General Arnold, being on buſineſs of a mercantile nature at Point a Petre, was captured at the time the place fell into the hands of the republicans, and, being apprehenſive of ill treatment, changed his name to Anderſon. He was put on board a priſon-ſhip in the harbour, and had conſiderable property in caſh with him, of which, it is ſuppoſed, Fremont and Victor Hugues were informed, as he received an intimation from one of the French ſentries, that he was known, and would ſoon be guillotined. On this alarming intelligence, he determined to attempt an eſcape, which he effected in the following manner: At night he lowered into the ſea a caſk containing clothes and valuables, with a direction on it, that if it

floated

The commander in chief, the moment the ſtrength of the enemy was aſcertained, had tranſmitted orders to the commanders in the different iſlands to ſend from thence whatever force could be ſpared; and the legiſlature of St. Chriſtopher, immediately on receiving notice of the enemy's appearance, raiſed a conſiderable body of volunteers at the expence of the colony, and diſpatched them, with great expedition, to co-operate in this important ſervice.

All the force that could be thus obtained, being at length collected at Baſſe Terre, detachments were landed on the ſide of Fort Fleur d'Epée, and many ſkirmiſhes took place with the enemy, between the 19th of June and the beginning of July, the particulars of which it is not neceſſary to relate. The weather was now become inſupportably hot, and the tropical rains being already ſet in, the general determined to make an effort to finiſh the campaign at a blow. It was planned that a large body of troops, under Brigadier General Symes, ſhould march during the night, and make themſelves maſters of Morne government, and the other commanding heights round the town of Point a Petre; the general himſelf, at the head of the reſt of his army remaining in readineſs on the heights of Maſcot, to ſtorm Fort Fleur d'Epée, on receiving a ſignal from the brigadier: the failure of this enterprize was a fatal circumſtance; and many animadverſions

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floated to the ſhore of our camp at Berville, it might be known, and reſtored to him; he then lowered down his cloak bag to a ſmall raft which he had prepared, on which alſo he got himſelf, and proceeded to a ſmall canoe, in which he puſhed for the Britiſh fleet, directed by the admiral's lights. On his making towards the mouth of the harbour, he was challenged by the French row-guard, but by the darkneſs of the night eſcaped from them, and arrived on board the Boyne by four o'clock on Monday morning, the 30th of June.

See the Rev. Cooper Williams's Account of the Campaign in the Weſt Indies.

madverſions having been made on the conduct of it, I ſhall recite the particulars in General Grey's own words: "On the evening "of the 1ſt inſtant Brigadier General Symes marched from Morne "Maſcot with the 1ſt battalion of grenadiers, the 1ſt and 2d battalions of light infantry, and the 1ſt battalion of ſeamen commanded by Captain Robertſon, to attack the town of Point a "Petre before day-break on the 2d inſtant; but being miſled by "their guides, the troops entered the town at the part where "they were moſt expoſed to the enemy's cannon and ſmall arms, "and where it was not poſſible to ſcale the walls of the fort; "in conſequence of which, they ſuffered conſiderably from round "and grape ſhot, together with ſmall arms fired from the "houſes, &c. and a retreat became unavoiable." It gives me great concern, obſerves the general, to add, that Brigadier General Symes was wounded; and that lieutenent Colonel Gomm, and ſome other meritorious officers, were killed on this attack, as was alſo Captain Robertſon of the navy, a valuable officer, and whoſe death was a great loſs to the ſervice *.

The meditated attack on Fort Fleur d'Epée, being thus rendered abortive, and the Britiſh troops ſo reduced or debilitated as to be abſolutely unfit for further exertion, (expoſed as they were to

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* Brigadier General Symes died of his wounds a ſhort time afterwards; excluſive of whom, the total loſs of the Britiſh in this unfortunate affair, and ſome preceding attacks, is ſtated as follows:

1 lieutenant colonel, 4 captains, 7 lieutenants, 7 ſerjeants, 2 drummers, 91 rank and file, *killed*; 1 major, 3 captains, 7 lieutenants, 13 ſerjeants, 8 drummers, 298 rank and file, *wounded*; 1 ſerjeant, 3 drummers, 52 rank and file, *miſſing*. One of the French frigates in the harbour did great execution, killing 3 officers and 36 privates of the light infantry, by a ſingle diſcharge of grape ſhot. They were unfortunately drawn up in a ſtreet, which was effectually commanded by her guns.

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to the ſun and the rains) it was reſolved at a conſultation held on the 3d, between the commander in chief and the admiral, to relinquiſh all further attempts for the preſent on Grande Terre; and to remove the artillery and ſtores, and to reinforce, with the troops, the poſts in Baſſe Terre. This determination, dictated by a neceſſity which left no alternative, was carried into effect without loſs, on the night of the 5th. "I now," ſaid the general in his letter of the 8th, "occupy with my whole "force, the ground between St. John's Point and Bay Ma-"hault, and having erected batteries with 24 pounders and mor-"tar batteries at Point Saron and Point St. John, oppoſite to the "town of Point a Petre, my ſituation gives perfect ſecurity to "Baſſe Terre."

Many arrangements, however, were yet to be made for the maintenance of this poſition during the approaching hurricane months, and until a reinforcement ſhould arrive from Great Britain. Theſe being at length completed, the general embarked on board the Boyne, and ſailed for St. Pierre in the iſland of Martinique, where he eſtabliſhed his head quarters, leaving Brigadier Graham to command in his abſence at Baſſe Terre.

The head quarters of the Britiſh army in Guadaloupe were at Camp Berville, which was placed on commanding ground; flanked by the ſea on one ſide, and on the other by an impaſſable moraſs. About a mile on the rear, was a narrow paſs, by which alone the camp could be approached, and in front was the river Salleé, on the furthermoſt banks of which ſtands the town of Point a Petre; but the ſituation of this encampment, ſo favourable in other reſpects, proved to be, in the higheſt degree, unhealthful. The baneful effects of the climate at this ſeaſon of the year were aggravated by putrid exhalations from the neighbouring ſwamps, and a dreadful mortality enſued among the troops. By the middle of Auguſt, the numbers on the ſick liſt conſtituted the majority of the camp. During the month of September, the army was inadequate to the ſupply of guards for the different batteries. Several companies could not produce a ſingle man fit for duty; and the 43d regiment could not even afford a corporal and three men, for the protection of their own camp in the night.

In order, therefore, to keep up the appearance of force in front of the enemy, the different iſlands were completely drained of troops, and a body of French loyaliſts were ſelected to perform military duty at the poſt of Gabarre; where they conducted themſelves with much ſpirit and fidelity.

The commiſſioner from the French convention, and now commander in chief of the French troops in Guadaloupe, was Victor Hugues, a man of whom I ſhall hereafter have frequent occaſion to ſpeak. It is ſufficient in this place to obſerve, that though his name has ſince become proverbial for every ſpecies of outrage and cruelty, he was not deficient either in courage or capacity. Obſerving how ſeverely his own troops, as well as ours, ſuffered from the climate, he conceived the project of arming in his ſervice, as many blacks and mulattoes as he could collect. Theſe men, inured to the climate, and having nothing to loſe, flocked to his ſtandard in great numbers, and were ſoon brought into ſome degree of order and diſcipline. With the co-operation of theſe auxiliaries, apprized at the ſame time of the debilitated ſtate of the Britiſh army, the French Commiſſioner determined to attack the Britiſh Camp at Berville. For this purpoſe, on Saturday the 26th of September, he embarked a large body of troops in ſmall

veſſels,

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veſſels, which paſſing our ſhips of war unperceived, under cover of a dark night, made good their landing in two detachments; the one at Goyave, the other at Bay Mahault. The detachment which took poſſeſſion of the place laſt mentioned, immediately marched to Gabarre, in the view of ſurrounding the French royaliſts ſtationed there, and it was with great difficulty that they eſcaped to Berville. The other detachment which had landed at Goyave, began its march to Petit Bourg. Lieut. Col. Drummond, of the 43d regiment, with ſome convaleſcents from the hoſpital, and a party of royaliſts, advanced to meet them, but perceiving their great ſuperiority, found it adviſeable to retreat; and they took poſt at a battery upon the ſhore, called Point Bacchus, where however they were ſoon ſurrounded, and the whole party made priſoners. By the poſſeſſion of this poſt, the enemy entirely cut off all communication between the Britiſh camp and ſhipping. They then proceeded to poſſeſs themſelves of the neighbouring heights, and formed a junction with the other detachment which had landed at Bay Mahault: by this means the camp at Berville was compleatly inveſted by land; its whole ſtrength, including the ſick and convaleſcent, conſiſted of no more than two hundred and fifty regular troops, and three hundred royaliſts. All that courage, perſeverance, and deſpair could effect, was performed by the united exertions of this galland band. In the firſt attack on the morning of the 29th, after a conflict of three hours, the republicans were defeated with great loſs. They were again repulſed in two ſubſequent attacks, on the 30th of the ſame month and the 4th of October. But their numbers continually increaſing, and the manifeſt impoſſibility of opening a communication with the Britiſh fleet, depriving the garriſon of all proper ſuccour General Graham, on the repreſentation of his officers, conſented on the 6th of October to ſend a flag to the French commiſſioner, offering to capitulate. Towards the Britiſh, the terms granted by the enemy were ſufficiently liberal, but the condition demanded for the French royaliſts, that they ſhould be treated as Britiſh ſubjects, was declared inadmiſſible; all the favour that could be obtained for them, was the ſanction of a covered boat, in which twenty-five of their officers eſcaped to the Boyne. The reſt of the miſerable royaliſts, upwards of 300 in number, were left a ſacrifice to the vengeance of their republican enemies. Finding themſelves excluded from the capitulation, they ſolicited permiſſion to endeavour to cut their way through the enemy, an attempt which muſt have ended only in the deſtruction both of themſelves and the Britiſh. There was a faint hope entertained, however, that Victor Hugues (whoſe character was not at that time ſufficiently developed) would relent on their ſurrender. In this expectation, however, theſe unfortunate people were cruelly diſappointed, and their ſad fate cannot be recorded without indignation and horror. The republicans erected a guillotine, with which they ſtruck off the heads of fifty of them in the ſhort ſpace of an hour. This mode of proceeding, however, proving too tedious for their impatient revenge; the remainder of theſe unhappy men were fettered to each other, and placed on the brink of one of the trenches which they had ſo gallantly defended: the republicans then drew up ſome of their undiſciplined recruits in front, who firing an irregular volley at their miſerable victims, killed ſome and wounded others; leaving many, in all probability, untouched: the weight however of the former, dragged the reſt into the ditch, where the living, the wounded, and the dead, ſhared the ſame grave; the ſoil being inſtantly thrown in upon them*.

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* Rev. Cooper Williams's account of the campaign, &c.

Thus was the whole of this fertile country (the ſingle fortreſs of Matilda excepted) reſtored to the power of France, and placed under the domination of a revengeful and remorſeleſs democracy. General Preſcott, who commanded the Matilda Fort, ſuſtained a long and moſt haraſſing ſiege, from the 14th of October to the 10th of December. His conduct throughout, as well as that of the officers and men under his command, was above all praiſe. He maintained his poſition until the fort was no longer tenable, and having no other means of ſaving his reduced and exhauſted garriſon from the ſword, he was obliged at length to abandon it by ſilent evacuation. Three line of battle ſhips had indeed arrived in the interim from Great Britain, but they came only to behold the triumph of the enemy. With this adverſe ſtroke of fortune, cloſed the campaign of 1794: its career for a while was glorious beyond example; and if the very unhappy meaſure of reducing the number of the troops at the outſet, had not taken effect, or if, as ſoon as the news of the capture of Martinico had reached England, a ſtrong reinforcement had been ſent to the ſcene of action, it cannot be doubted that Guadaloupe would have ſtill continued in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, and the page of hiſtory remained undefiled with thoſe dreadful recitals of revolt, devaſtation, and maſſacre, which I ſhall ſoon have the painful taſk of recording, to the ſhame and everlaſting diſhonour of the French character, and the diſgrace of human nature. Our gallant commanders were fortunate, in being allowed to withdraw in time from an atmoſphere polluted by ſuch enormities. Worn down by conſtant exertion both of body and mind, aſſailed by an unprincipled faction with the baſeſt calumnies, and oppreſſed by the melancholy and daily proſpect of a gallant army periſhing of diſeaſe, they were happily relieved from infinite anxiety by the appearance

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pearance of the reinforcement before mentioned, in which arrived Gen. Sir John Vaughan and Vice Admiral Caldwell; to the former of whom Sir Charles Grey, and to the latter Sir John Jervis, ſurrendered their reſpective commands, and on the 27th of November ſailed for Great Britain.

CHAPTER IV.

Savage Indignities of Victor Hugues to the remains of General Dundas.—His unprecedented Cruelty to his Britiſh Priſoners.—Meditates Hoſtilities againſt the other Iſlands.

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THE firſt meaſure of the French commiſſioner, on taking poſſeſſion of Fort Matilda, diſplayed in the ſtrongeſt manner the baſeneſs and ferocity of his character. The body of Major General Dundas had been buried within the walls of that fortreſs, and a ſtone placed over it with a ſuitable inſcription. This humble memorial, which a generous enemy, in every civilized part of the earth, would have held ſacred, was immediately deſtroyed by orders of this ſavage deſpot, and the remains of the deceaſed hero dug up and thrown into the river Gallion. This mean and cowardly diſplay of ineffectual vengeance, was made the ſubject of boaſting and triumph in a public proclamation, worthy only of its author*.

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* So much has been heard of Victor Hugues, that it may be agreeable to the reader to be informed of his origin and early purſuits. He was born of mean parents in ſome part of old France, and was placed out when a boy, as an apprentice to a hair-dreſſer: In that occupation he went originally to Guadaloupe, where he was afterwards known as a petty innkeeper at Baſſe Terre. Failing in that purſuit, he became maſter of a ſmall trading veſſel, and at length was promoted to a lieutenancy in the French navy. Being diſtinguiſhed for his activity in the French revolution, he was afterwards deputed, through the influence of Robeſpierre, to whoſe party he was ſtrongly attached, to the National Aſſembly. In 1794 he obtained the appointment of Commiſſioner at Guadaloupe, with controuling powers over the commanders of the army and navy; and proved himſelf in every reſpect worthy of his great patron and exemplar, being nearly as ſavage, remorſeleſs, and bloody, as Robeſpierre himſelf.

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The miſeries of war ſeem, indeed, to have been wantonly aggravated by this man, to an extent never known among the rudeſt and moſt barbarous nations. In the village of Petit Bourg lay many ſick and wounded Britiſh ſoldiers, who had been taken priſoners with Colonel Drummond at Point Bacchus. Theſe unhappy men made an humble application to Victor Hugues for medical aſſiſtance and freſh proviſions. Their petition was anſwered by a death warrant. The vindictive conqueror, inſtead of conſidering them as objects of mercy and relief, cauſed the whole number in the hoſpital, and among them it is ſaid "many women "and ſome children," to be indiſcriminately murdered by the bayonet; a proceeding ſo enormouſly wicked, is, I believe, without a precedent in the annals of human depravity*.

After ſuch conduct towards men who were incapable of making either reſiſtance or eſcape, it may well be ſuppoſed that revenge was not tardy in the purſuit of its victims among the inhabitants of the country. To be accuſed of actions, or ſuſpected of principles, hoſtile towards the new government, was to be convicted of treaſon. Accordingly, perſons of all conditions, without reſpect to ſex or age, were ſent daily to the guillotine by this inexorable tyrant, and their execution was commonly performed in ſight of the Britiſh priſoners.

Victor Hugues, having taken theſe and other meaſures for ſecuring the quiet poſſeſſion of Guadaloupe, determined in the next

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* I am unwilling to give this anecdote to the public without quoting my authority. I relate it on the teſtimony of the Rev. Cooper Williams, chaplain of the Boyne, who quotes Col. Drummond himſelf, and it is confirmed by a declaration drawn up by General Vaughan and Vice-Admiral Caldwell. Col. Drummond himſelf was confined to a priſon ſhip, and by particular orders from Victor Hugues, to ſwab the decks like the meaneſt ſeamen.

place (his force being inadequate to a regular attempt againſt any of the other iſlands) to adopt a ſyſtem of hoſtility againſt ſome of them, which, though well ſuited to his character and diſpoſition, was not leſs outrageous and ſanguinary than unprecedented among civilized ſtates. To this end he directed his firſt attention towards Grenada and St. Vincent's, expecting to find in each of thoſe iſlands, adherents fit for the project which he meditated. * * *
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‡ N. B.—At this intereſting period the hiſtory cloſes.—Death abruptly terminates the author's labours.

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